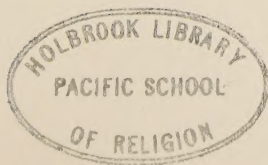


THE EXPOSITOR

VOL. VI.



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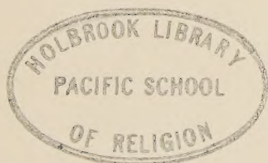
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HERR ALOIS MUSIL ON THE LAND OF MOAB.

I. THE NORTHERN LAND OF MOAB.

THE volume ¹ of which I propose to give an account in this article, will long serve as an authority on the land of Moab. With its companion on Edom, which I postpone to another occasion, it forms one of the most considerable additions to the geography of Palestine which have appeared in recent years.

Many writers have described the fascination which the long high edge of the Moabite plateau, lifted above the hollow of the Dead Sea, exercises upon those who view it from western Palestine, with the sense that it is the threshold to Arabia and with some knowledge of its ancient and varied history. This spell is not broken by actual acquaintance with the land. On the contrary, the traveller from the West finds his richest anticipations exceeded when he sets foot on the Moabite plateau and traverses the length and breadth of it, some 60 miles by 30 ; when he breathes its pure, high air, and surveys its far-spreading wheat-fields and pasture-grounds ; when he descends the great cañons which cleave the plateau from the Desert to the Dead Sea ; and experiences a range of climate that extends from the winter snows of the Belka', where, according to the proverb, "the cold is always at home," to the summer heats of the sub-tropical Ghor ; when he breaks upon the marvellous views across the Dead Sea, the most singular basin and lake

¹ *Arabia Petraea*, von Alois Musil. I. Moab, topographischer Reisebericht mit 1 Tafel und 190¹/₂ Abbildungen im Texte. Vienna, Alfred Hölder, 1907. Pages xxiii. and 443. Vol. ii. is on Edom. Both are published for the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna.

in the world ; or when he perceives, as he can from almost every knoll upon the plateau, the thickly scattered groups of ruins ; visits the forts and walls of the Roman frontier ; or traces the lines of road which one conqueror after another has laid down in almost all directions. Every one of the vital processes, which constitute the history of Syria, is illustrated here, whether by the remains of vanished races or in the life of the present inhabitants. The constant struggle between the desert and the field ; the steady drift of the hungry swarms of Arabia upon the fertile soil ; the gradual settlement of the nomad to agriculture ; the establishment of long screens of towers against further encroachments from the east ; the decadence of vigorous races among the temptations of the vine, or under the enervating heats of the Ghor ; the growth and fall of various civilizations—Semitic, Greek, Roman, Frankish, and again Semitic ; the early Semitic faiths and their rock altars, the coming of the Greek deities, the rise of Christianity with its innumerable churches, the prevalence of Islam, and in spite of the latter the persistence to the present day of a thin thread of Christian faith. We trace the passage of Israel to the Promised Land ; the life of the people who were most akin to Israel after the flesh and who yet, in contrast to them, have disappeared from history leaving but one legible monument of what they were. We see the last scenes of the life of Moses, of Elijah and of John the Baptist ; the castles built by the Hasmoneans and Herod ; some Nabatean inscriptions ; the milestones of Trajan and his successors to Julian ; Roman camps, praetoria, inns and changehouses ; Greek temples, Byzantine and Ghassanide basilicas, palaces, mosaics and other ornaments ; Crusading and Saracen castles, Turkish khans and forts. In short, it would be impossible to exaggerate either the geographical or the historical interest of this frontier of civilization against the Arabian desert.

Till a few years ago the topography and antiquities of the land of Moab were very imperfectly known. Seetzen passed through in 1806, Burckhardt in 1810-12, Irby and Mangles in 1818. Lynch visited Kerak from the Dead Sea in 1848, and Roth crossed the country from there southwards to 'Akabah in 1857-58. De Saulcy's and the Duc de Luyne's expeditions followed in 1863 and 1864; Palmer Drake and the two Kiepert about 1870. Most of these contributed in considerable measure to our knowledge of the general features, the main lines of communication and the antiquities of the land. Then came Tristram's expedition in 1871, with its large additions especially to the topography and natural history, published in his *Land of Moab*, 1874; Porter's and Kersten's journeys in 1874; the American expedition to the north end of the country under Merrill in 1876, and Schick's journey in 1877. In 1881 Conder and Mantell made their rapid and courageous survey of the north-western quarter of the land, which was stopped by the Turkish authorities; the results are to be found in the Fund's Memoirs, *The Survey of Eastern Palestine*, volume i., *The 'Adwân Country*.¹ Since then we have had the journeys of Bliss, Gray Hill, Wilson and myself reported in the Palestine Fund *Quarterly Statements* (1895, 1899, 1904, etc.), Germer Durand's account of the road from Petra to Mâdaba in the *Revue Biblique*, vi. (1897), with notes by Sejourné and others on the milestones in different numbers of the same periodical; various papers in the publications of the Deutsche Palästina-Verein, Lucien Gautier's *Autour de la Mer Morte* (1901), the itinerary in Baedeker's *Palästina* (fifth edition), and, above all, Brünnow

¹ The survey, which was partly carried out in the excitement of evading the Turkish officers sent to stop it, extended from the Wâdy el-Hammâm (north of 'Ammân) on the north to the Wâdy Zerka Mâ'in on the south; and from the Jordan and Dead Sea on the west as far east as the Hajj road in the northern part of the survey, but only to Mâdaba and the Wâdy el-Habîs in the southern.

and Domaszewski's two huge volumes, *Die Provincia Arabia*, written, as the title sets forth, "on the basis of two journeys undertaken in the years 1897 and 1898, and of the accounts of earlier travellers" (Strasburg, Trübner). Vol. i. (1904) is on the Roman Road from Mâdaba to el-'Akaba; vol. ii. (1905) on the outer Limes and the Roman roads from el-Ma'an to Boşra. The authors, connecting their triangulation with that of Conder, surveyed the rest of the land of Moab and the land of Edom. They had no firmân for excavation, but they carefully examined, and have reproduced all monuments and inscriptions above ground. Except in Petra the archaeology was not carried behind the Roman occupation; but within this limit they have done an extraordinary amount of good work. In particular they have laid down for the first time the course of the Roman Limes, defining its origin and gradual extension towards the desert, and they have given numerous descriptions, with illustrations and plans of the rampart itself, as well as of the camps, forts and towers upon and within it. Their trigonometrical survey revolutionized our knowledge of the tributaries of the Arnon (el Môjeb) and of the wadies about Kerak. They give besides a collection of the data and opinions of other travellers.

It is only with a knowledge of all this literature that one is able to appreciate the originality and accuracy of Herr Musil's contributions. His work is not distinguished by the wealth, whether of classical scholarship or architectural and artistic detail, which Brünnow and Domaszewski evince. But like them he gives us the results of an independent trigonometrical survey for which he underwent some training, and in part of which he had the assistance of Herr Lendle, a professional engineer. He is besides, as they are not, an Old Testament scholar, and prepared himself for his journeys by studying exegesis and archaeology in the Ecole Biblique

at Jerusalem, and the St. Joseph University in Beyrout, with additional work at London, Cambridge, Berlin, Vienna and Constantinople. Through the fertile parts of Arabia Petraea he had the company of one or other of the experienced Roman Catholic missionaries who are at work in Mâdaba and Kerak ; while in the Eastern desert he travelled on most friendly terms, under the protection and guidance of chiefs of the Beni Šokhr tribe ; and elsewhere employed local Bedawee or fellah guides ; among whom, I see, was my own guide, Khalîl of Mâdaba, a modest, sincere and well-informed man. From all this it will appear how well fitted Herr Musil was to increase our knowledge of the land of Moab, even after Conder's survey and Brünnow and Domaszewski's labours, not to speak of their predecessors, in whose reports the student will still find not a little to reward his reading.¹ To the carefulness of his preparations and his wise methods, Herr Musil added great accuracy and a heroic strenuousness in the achievement of his twenty-one long and short expeditions, during 1896, 1897, 1898, 1901 and 1902. His journeys and surveys covered a wider range than that of any of his predecessors. He traversed more than once the Negeb and the desert east of the 'Arâbah as far south as the gulf of 'Akaba ; the land of Edom and the land of Moab both within and without the region surveyed by Conder ; and in particular he made several expeditions into the Eastern desert beyond the Roman Limes, where he discovered and carefully examined a number of castles surrounded by fair pasture-grounds. The strain from fatigue, from hunger and thirst, illness and many dangers, must frequently have been very severe. But his success is assured. The lucid, careful and lavishly illustrated

¹ I would instance especially Seetzen, Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, and Tristram.

accounts of his journeys, which were ready for the press in 1903, with the large rich maps,¹ for the completion of which their publication was delayed, place him in the front ranks of the explorers of Syria. He had intended to add the data of other modern travellers, but as these have been given by Brünnow he has limited his references on each site to extracts from the Bible and the Apocrypha, from Josephus, Jerome and other Greek and Latin writers and from the Arab geographers. He has besides published a large work (which I have not seen) on the Kuşeyr 'Amra (the ruins which he discovered in the Wâdy el Buṭum, a tributary of the W. Sirhân), with its wonderful wall-paintings.²

One of the few criticisms I have to offer on Herr Musil's work refers to his opening sentence on the name "Moab": "Moab nenne ich dem Sprachgebrauche des Alten Testaments entsprechend das zum Wassergebiete des Arnon-el-Môgeb gehörige Hochland am Ostufer des Toten Meeres." ("According to the linguistic use of the Old Testament I give the name Moab to the highlands belonging to the water-system of the Arnon (el-Môgeb) on the east coast of the Dead Sea.") To this definition there is both a linguistic and a geographical objection.

In the Old Testament "Moab" appears frequently as the name of the people, but it is doubtful whether in any passage it is applied by itself to their land.³ On the con-

¹ (1) Karte von Arabia Petraea nach eigenen Aufnahmen. Scale, 1:300,000. Three sheets, 65:50 cm. Price 15 marks. (2) Umgebungskarte von Wâdi Musa. Scale, 1:20,000. One sheet, 36:27 cm. Price 3 marks 50.

² Kuşeyr 'Amra. Vol. i., Text; Vol. ii., 41 coloured plates. Price 210 marks. Vienna, Alfred Hölder, with a preface by D. H. Müller, and besides Musil's own descriptions (pp. 3-186) contributions from Kropf, Mielich, Pollak, Wenzel, Wickhoff, and Karabacek.

³ The *Oxford Hebrew Dictionary* cites Num. xxi. 11 as a passage in which the land is meant, but in verse 13 the name is parallel to the gentile Amorite, and in 15 also it designates the people. "Moab" is not necessarily the land even in Jud. iii. 29, nor in Amos ii. 1 f., nor in Zeph. ii. 9

trary when the latter is intended, one or other of several compound terms is used—*land*, or *field* (i.e. *territory*) of *Moab*¹ and the more partial designations *the tableland*; *desert* (or *steppe*) of *Moab*; *shoulder of Moab*; *the 'Arâbôth of Moab*; *the land of Ya'azer*. In harmony with this are the facts that “Moab” has not survived as a geographical term, but disappeared along with the people it designated; and that the Greeks found it necessary to coin the name *Μωαβίτης* when they would designate the land. All uses of Moab for the latter appear to be very late.²

Nor is it a complete definition of the land of Moab to say that it is the “Highlands belonging to the territory watered by the Arnon (el-Môjeb)” and its affluents. It is quite true (as I believe Herr Musil has been the first to establish) that the most considerable of the northern affluents of el-Môjeb, the Seyl Heydân, drains by its affluents the plateau as far north-east as es-Suk and er-Razîb near the Hajj road. But there remains the not inconsiderable north-western district of Moab which drains independently to the Dead Sea by the Wâdy Zerka-Mâ'in and other streams; and there are besides those parts of the Ghor opposite Jericho which also carried the name of Moab.

Herr Musil gives the well-known native divisions of the land: (1) el-Belka from the sources of the Zerka near 'Ammân southwards to the Wâdy Zerka Mâ'in; (2) el-Jebâl from the Zerka Mâ'in to the Wâdy el-Wâleh and its

(parallel to Ammonites). Everywhere else the people are obviously meant.

¹ *Land of M.*, both in Deuteronomy and in deuteronomic passages in other books; also in P (Deut. xxxii. 49). *Field of M.*, Num. xxi. 20 (E?); cf. Gen. xxxvi. 35 (P); Ruth i. 1 f., etc.

² Eusebius and Jerome use *Μωαβ* along with *Μωαβίτης* for a district. A fragment from Bk. ii. of the *Arabica* of Uranius (later than Constantine), quoted by Steph. Byzan. (see *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, iv. 524), has *Μώβα μοῖρα τῆς 'Αραβίας, οἱ ὀκνοῦντες Μωβηνοί*. The Arab geographers called Rabbath—Moab Mâba. Compare the Latin inscription at Kuse el-Bsheir, “mobenium.”

continuation the Seyl Heydân ; (3) el-Kûra from the Wâleh to the Môjeb or Arnon ; (4) Ard el-Kerak from the Môjeb to the Wâdy el-Hsa, the southern frontier of the land. The five summers of Herr Musil's work did not take these in their order ; each expedition crossed more than one of them. But it will be most convenient for us in surveying his topographical results to treat them in their geographical succession from north to south. I may here say that I am to spell the Arabic place-names, in Roman letters, not exactly as Herr Musil does, but according to the system of transliteration which is more familiar to ourselves.¹

I. THE BELĀ. This is the best known part of Moab. It was covered by Conder's survey, and has been most easily visited by other travellers. Mādaba, one of Herr Musil's two centres for his work, lies in it ; six of his twenty-one expeditions touched some part of it, while four of them (1901, i. v. 1902, iii.) were entirely within it. His survey did not extend nearly so far north as Conder's,² but widely supplements this to the east, where he makes numerous additions to our knowledge of the place-names. Within the region covered by both, when their topography differs, it is well to keep in mind Herr Musil's modest appreciation of the reliability of his maps and his statement that he has laid more importance on the correct nomenclature than on the exact positions of the sites which he has mapped. The nomenclature appears to have been rendered with especial care, and on the whole is to be preferred to that of others ; but Conder's map will still remain the standard for the natural features and relative positions of the sites.

¹ Thus, where he spells with *j* (the German *j*) I have put *y* or *i* ; for his more correct *ǧ* I use the more usual English *j* ; his *ḥ* I render *kh* and his *t* by *th*.

² Musil's map does not go farther north than Tell er-Rameh, in the Ghor, 'Ain Hesbân and er-Razîb (approximately the northern boundary of Moab), while Conder's extends across Ammonite territory to the W. el-Hammâm.

The Belka divides practically into two parts, and Herr Musil traversed both in several directions. Of its main plateau he knows all the shallow wâdies—fertile beds below stony ridges—rich opportunities both of pasturage and agriculture. He has recognized the remains of the ancient culture of the olive and vine, and how easily this may be restored. As it is, the Belka produces much grain; when I was there in 1904 corn dealers from Jerusalem were buying up the harvests before they were reaped. But there are few or no springs on the plateau. The dams and reservoirs of the Greek period have fallen into ruin; and when the winter rains fail, as they did in 1900-1901, a famine rapidly ensues. The other part of this northerly region of Moab consists of the rugged wâdies which break from the plateau into the Ghor. Here, below the softer strata of limestone, springs appear, and there is even a waterfall at the 'Uyûn Mûsa, in which Herr Musil's photograph of July, 1901, shows more water than I found in July, 1891. Our author's descriptions as well as his maps do justice to the extraordinarily numerous ruins—remains (as throughout the most of Moab) mainly of the Byzantine cities. Naturally Mâdaba and its surroundings receive most attention; the town-walls, old streets, the ten churches (for there were ten), the beautiful mosaic pavements¹ and reservoirs are all carefully described. Here the same rapid destruction of ruins is taking place as we have to deplore in the rest of Moab; the natural result of the re-population of ancient sites under the now more secure government of the Turk. "That the antiquities of Mâdaba vanish from day to day is the more to be deplored, since one finds in every private house beautiful mosaic floors. For it is certain that we have to do here with a native branch of art, which from the

¹ In addition to the famous mosaic map, Father Bieber reports having seen a more comprehensive one, which included Rome and Babylon! (116).

point of view of the history of art appears highly important" (pp. 115 f.). There is not space to recount all the sites described by Herr Musil in this once densely populated district, but I must at least mention his interesting accounts of Nebo, Heshbon, Umm el-Brak, and his appreciation of the importance of the principal sites in the extreme north-east, er-Razîb, es-Suk, Nêfa'a, el-Yadûdeh and at-Toneyb. The older remains of the district, the dolmens and cromlechs, are not so fully treated as by Conder; but there is a long description of those at el-Kweyjiye, in which he failed to find "any artificial markings which would point to a religious ritual" (268). "All are so placed that the summit of el-Kwejżije [so spelt by Herr Musil according to the Bedouin pronunciation and his system of transliteration] is visible from them." This suggests the idea "that a Temple with the image of the deity or something similar once stood above, and that the dolmens were erected round about by pilgrims *ex voto*. Animals were probably sacrificed on the dolmens, and while their blood was poured out on the upper stones, the sacrificer directed his eyes to the deity on the summit, a precedent observed also to-day by the Bedouin when they make pilgrimages to the grave of their ancestors" (269). Of the identifications noted by Herr Musil in this part of Moab the following may be noted: Bamoth-Baal or Bamoth (Num. xxi. 19, xxii. 41; Isa. xv. 2), with the southern slopes of Mount Neba; the town of Nebo, with Khurbet el-Mkhayyet; Beth-Pe'or, with esh-Sheikh-Gâzel; *the valley* (hag-Gai) with the valley of the wells of Moses; Ashdôth ha-Pisgah with the W. en-Na'am; Abel hash-shiṭṭim, with W. es-Seyâle; Beth hay-yeshîmôth with Khurbet es-Sweyîmeh.

One very interesting fact is confirmed by Herr Musil. The Ordnance Survey Map marks a fragment of an ancient road on the direct line from Jericho to the hot springs of

the W. Zerka Mâ'in, but fails to continue it to the latter. Nor could I find an ancient road leading down to those springs when I was there in 1904 (*P.E.F. Quarterly Statement*, 1905, 224), and my guides denied there was any direct road from the springs to Jericho. In 1906, however, Dr. Cropper and Professor Bacon were more fortunate (*idem*, 1906, 297). They found a stretch of basalt pavement on the incline above the hot springs, and proofs of an ancient road "in well arranged gradients and boundary walls" at the top, also more remnants further on. They reached Jericho in thirteen hours. Now Herr Musil tells us that from Bar-râkât below Mount Nebo to the south-west he saw the white line of "the ancient road from Jericho to the hot springs of ez-Zâra or Zerka Mâ'in." It traverses aba-l-Hasan, one of the broad stages by which the mountains of Moab rise from the Dead Sea (271). The hot springs of Hammâm ez-Zerka have been so often visited that except for some names Herr Musil has little new to tell. In this connexion we may note that in the debate whether these springs or the hot springs farther north at ez-Zâra (so Musil spells the name often given as eṣ-Ṣara) are those to which Herod was carried in his last illness, Musil decides (with Seetzen, Dechent and others) for ez-Zâra. But I still think that Josephus means by Kallirrhoe, "down on" which he says those springs were situated, the main stream of the Zerka Mâ'in (see my article *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, 223 f.). If the sick and aged king had in any case to be brought by the road which passes them, what was the use of carrying him farther?

II. EL-JEBÂL. On this the narrowest division of Moab I have space to note only the following. The wâdies east of the main road, which flow south into the Seyl Heydân or el-Hammâm, were differently named by Herr Musil's informants from the names given to me by Khalîl of Mâdaba

(*P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, 46); though we agree as to the name ez-Zerdâb in which some of them unite. One regrets that Herr Musil was not able to examine more thoroughly the ruins of el-Kreiyât (133), the Kiriathaim of Jeremiah xlviii. 1, 23; but he has fixed its position. This is one of the sites in Moab which would richly repay excavation. When I saw it in 1904 (from a distance) it was as yet free from the re-settlement which is destroying so many of the ancient remains in Moab; but we cannot believe that it will be long left alone.

Herr Musil visited Mkawr¹ or Machaerus more than once (96, 134 f., 237 ff.). The hostility between his guides and the Ḥamâyde Arabs, who inhabit the neighbourhood, prevented him from making more than a rapid survey on two of his visits. He gives us a detailed and lucid account of the topography, which makes us regret all the more that we have not from him a fuller description of the ruins of the town, of the castle now called el-Meshneḳeh, and of the important remains to the south-east of the town. With regard to these I may refer the reader to my own accounts in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1895 (pp. 224-30, 357-60). Like myself, Herr Musil was impressed with the sublime view from el-Meshneḳeh; and he confirms my report that not only the Mount of Olives but a part of Jerusalem is visible from it. He was struck with the similarity between the appearance of Jebel Fardeys (the Frank Mountain) near Bethlehem, and el-Meshneḳeh. He adds: "Fardeys was heightened by Herod by means of banking-walls. On the platform which thus resulted the king erected a palace, and involuntarily the thought arises whether el-Meshneḳa (*sic*) had not the same builder." There can be little doubt of this. Ḳasr el-Meshneḳeh (the name as given to me) is the ruin of Herod's Machaerus, the reputed prison of John

¹ His transliteration of the local pronunciation is Măawer.

the Baptist. The plan drawn by Dr. Buchanan and my own notes of the place correspond, as I have shown,¹ to the account of the stronghold by Josephus² in every detail of site and feature save one—the position of the “lower city” relative to the castle. For the city ruins, now called Mkawr, do not lie so close to the castle as Josephus implies that “the lower city” lay, but are nearly a mile to the east across a deep valley. These ruins, however, are, as far as I could judge, wholly Byzantine; and the town which they represent may not have been built till long after the destruction of Herod’s castle of Machaerus by Lucilius Bassus in 71 or 72 A.D. Neither in the Hasmonean nor Herodian period is Machaerus described as anything but a stronghold: an outlying fortress of the Jews towards the territory of the Nabateans. Any neighbouring settlement of people, worthy of the title “town” or “city,” and possessing the same name, would naturally be found immediately under it (say on the south, in which direction the causeway runs from the castle). There must have lain “the lower city of Josephus.” After the Romans dismantled the fortress we do not find Machaerus (so far as I know) described as a fortress; and it is probable that the inhabitants of “the lower city,” deprived of their protection there, moved to the ridge on the west, where the Byzantine ruins lie which are now called Mkawr. There are, as is well known, many precedents for such a drifting of the name. This ridge, to which Herr Musil gives the name ed-Dejr (i.e. ed-Deyr), but which K̄halīl named to me et-Teyr, bears upon it, some distance south of Mkawr, a large number of stone circles and curious platforms, which continue all the way to Khurbet ‘Aṭṭârûs, the ‘Aṭarôth of the Old Testament. Herr Musil, if I mistake not, reports only remains of terraces for retaining the soil, but there

¹ *P.E.F.Q.*, 1905, 226 f.

² *Wars*, VII. vi. 1 f.

are also the erections I have just mentioned, more frequent than I have seen anywhere else in Moab. They imply a large population, but as I found no domestic ruins among them except at Mkawr and 'Atṭârûs they appear to indicate that their long and straggling site formed an important religious centre.

The name 'Atṭârûs attaches to-day to two different spots. About an hour and a quarter north-east of Mkawr¹ is Khurbet 'Atṭârûs. Herr Musil gives a careful plan (396) of the site and ruins of this once walled city, with the two trenches, north and south, across the ridge on which it lies. The details agree with my description in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1905, 360. We differ as to the names given us by our guides for the surrounding wâdies. North-east from Khurbet 'Atṭârûs, forty minutes² by an ancient track, I came to a conspicuous elevation crowned by a great mound of ruined stones, to which the name Rujm 'Atṭârûs was given to me, i.e. Cairn of 'Atṭârûs. It lies on the brink of the deep W. Zerka Mâ'in, and as you look up to it from the bed of the latter forms the summit of what is known as the Jebel, or Mount, 'Atṭârûs. This is the name which Herr Musil gives to it. The stones represent what is not actually a cairn, though it appears to be so, but a platform (80 by 110 metres, says Musil) of ruined buildings. I seemed to trace round it the remains of a wall.

It is remarkable that within two miles there should be two sites possessing the same name. But Numbers xxxii. gives both an 'Aṭarôth (verses 3 and 34), a city of Gad, and an 'Atrôth-Shôphân (verse 35). Professor Gray, in his commentary, thinks that Shôphân is probably a tribal name. The reading, however, is uncertain. The Samaritan

¹ Musil gives the direct distance at about $4\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres, but the way between the two winds a great deal in avoidance of the valleys that separate them.

² Musil gives practically the same time, 43 minutes.

Shephîm suggests the meaning heights, and this is suitable to the Rujm or Jebel 'Atţârûs. Both, according to the Hebrew, were fenced cities.

Other points of interest in the district el-Jebâl are these. Musil spells the name of the hot springs below Machaerus as ez-Zara, while all others spell eş-Şara, but he agrees with those who identify the name with the Şereth of Joshua xiii. 19: the text of this passage is, however, uncertain. We have already seen his identification of the springs with Kallirrhoe. The ancient road which I followed across the back of el-Jebâl from Mkawr by 'Atţârûs to Libb is also given by Musil; but he shows besides how it continues eastward to the upper waters of the W. el-Wâleh (there the W. eth-Thamad) and the Desert. In the neighbourhood of its crossings of the two trunk roads north and south stands ed-Dlêlet el-Gharbiyyeh—"once a great and strong town on the N.N.W. slope of the range which forms the southern limit of the fruitful plain of Mâdaba. With its loftily situated and powerful castle it commands the three roads [above mentioned] . . . , and was thus of great strategical importance." Musil suggests its identification with the ('Almon) Diblathaim of Numbers xxxiii. 46 (251, 253).¹ Other important sites noted are west of the trunk-road Fizâret en-Nakḵûba; on the road itself Libb, first identified by Schlatter with the Lemba or Libba of Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 15, 4; xiv. 1, 4); and to the east Jerwân, Keryeh Mleh, el-'Elaki, the powerful el-Ĥeri, Zeynab (apparently "much older" than el-Ĥeri, and presumably of pre-roman origin), Umm-el-Walid (which Musil, 107, 122, suggests as the Yahash of Numbers xxi. 23: *towards the desert*; cf. Jerome and the Moabite Stone), and further north Zîza (marked by Ptolemy), which reminds Musil of the Zûzîm of Genesis xiv. 5.

¹ LXX Γελμων Διβλαθαιμ; Jer. xlviii. 22, בֵּית רַבְלָתַיִם; also mentioned on the Moabite Stone.

My review of Herr Musil's work in the rest of Moab and in Edom, with its ethnological and religious results, I must postpone till the next number of the EXPOSITOR.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

THE HELVIDIAN VERSUS THE EPIPHANIAN HYPOTHESIS.

THE April number of the *Church Quarterly* contains an anonymous article on the Brethren of the Lord in support of what is known as the Epiphanian, in contrast to the Hieronymian and Helvidian theories. In p. 76 the recent history of this last theory is compared to 'the temporary triumph of "a band of resolute men, under an intrepid leader, carrying a strong position through the sheer force of a splendid irresistible dash. . . . It takes us by surprise, and for the moment carries all before it. But such . . . brilliant assaults melt away under the dry light of criticism."

It would not have occurred to me to suppose that I was included among the heroes of this spirited narrative, were it not that I find two publications of mine specified among the authorities which stand at the head of the article, and also that my name appears in the course of the article more frequently than that of any other supporter of the Helvidian theory. On one point, I must demur to the above comparison, flattering though it may be. It is said that "the first sensation of the victors is that of utter surprise to find themselves in possession, a surprise which deepens into a conviction that this exploit should not have succeeded." As far as I am concerned, it could not be a matter of surprise if the evidence which had compelled me to adopt a certain view, after the fullest

consideration of which I was capable, had the same effect upon other thinking men as upon myself. I should, however, prefer a somewhat different comparison. The search for truth, no doubt, involves a struggle against the spirit of error and prejudice in oneself and in others; but I should rather picture the work as the mapping out of a partially unexplored territory, than as the assault on an enemy's position. Each explorer begins with what his predecessors have stored up in the way of facts or inferences or even of hearsay, but progress is made not in learning off these particulars by heart, and refusing to listen to anything which militates against them, but in separating the real from the imaginary, in careful sifting of evidence, in the laborious collection of new facts and the investigation of their mutual relations.

Before proceeding to consider the objections of my critic, whom for convenience sake I shall henceforth designate as X, I am afraid I must recapitulate, as briefly as possible, the main points of the argument which has led me to the conclusion that the Brethren of the Lord were sons of Joseph and Mary. I feel that my thanks are due to X for supplying the stimulus needed to make me reconsider these various points in the light thrown upon them in later publications, such as Zahn's *Forschungen*, pt. vi. pp. 225-363; Gore's *Dissertation on the Virgin-Birth*; Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ* on the "Virgin-Birth," the "Infancy" and the "Brethren of the Lord." But, as it must be plain to every one, who has looked at the chapter on the subject, contained in my *Introduction to the Epistle of St. James*, that the argument there given is not simple, but highly complicated and cumulative, I think I may justly complain when I find X attempting to tie me down to a single point, as in p. 74, where he says that I "lay claim on the strength of this

statement (viz. Tertullian's assertion that the Brethren were uterine brothers of our Lord) to have proved that James, the Lord's brother, was the son of Joseph and Mary"; and again in p. 78, where we read that "it is on certain scriptural statements alone that the half-brother theory rests its case." It is true that, in my opinion, the scriptural evidence is conclusive in itself, and, therefore, I shall deal with it first; but there is an amplitude of confirmatory evidence, which we have no right to ignore, and which I propose to treat of under the two heads of Tradition and Sentiment.

First then as to Scripture, the evidence may also be considered under two heads: (1) What we are told as to the Birth, the Infancy, and the Childhood of Jesus; and (2) What we are told as to the household of Nazareth during his manhood.

It may be well to begin with a general view of the situation as given in the early chapters of St. Luke and St. Matthew. A Hebrew maiden of some sixteen years, apparently descended from David, is espoused to a carpenter of the same lineage, and is looking forward to be married to him within a year. She is related to the wife of the priest Zechariah, who, like some of the older heroines of her race, especially Sarah and Hannah, after long endurance of what Jewish women felt to be the bitter reproach of barrenness, had been gladdened by the promise made to her husband, that a child should be granted to them in their old age, who should come in the spirit and power of Elijah, to prepare the way for the Messiah. Shortly afterwards Mary herself receives a yet higher intimation from the angel Gabriel, telling her that she shall bear a child who shall be called the Son of the Most High, shall inherit the throne of his father David, and rule over the house of Jacob for ever. Mary's answer is made up

of two parts—a query, “How shall this be?” and the reason for the query, “Seeing I know not a man.” The query is natural enough. How is it possible that one in such low estate should be so highly honoured? Compare the words put into the mouth of Mary on her visit to Elizabeth in *Protev.* 12), *Μαριάμ δὲ ἐπελάθετο τῶν μυστηρίων ὧν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὴν Γαβριήλ, καὶ ἀτενίσασα εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπε, Τίς εἰμι ἐγώ, ὅτι πᾶσαι αἱ γενεαὶ τῆς γῆς μακαριοῦσιν ἐμέ;* And this is the prevailing tone of the hymn which follows, framed, as it is, on Hannah’s psalm of thanksgiving. It is in accordance also with the explanation given by the angel: “The greatness foretold comes not from you, but from the working of the Divine Spirit. Your part is simply to believe that no word of God can fail of its accomplishment.”

But I think every reader must feel that the reason Mary assigns for her query is not at all what we should have expected. The espoused wife would surely have concluded that the child promised must be the offspring of her intended marriage. What should have led her to make what would seem the very inappropriate remark, that the marriage was not yet consummated? The answer given by some of the Fathers, in accordance with the statement found in the apocryphal Gospel *De Nativitate Mariae* is that we are to regard the words not as a simple statement of an existing fact, but as a resolution or vow of virginity.¹ Cornelius à Lapide compares it with a similar statement which might be made by a Carthusian, *Non vescor carnibus*; and regards it as a special glory of Mary that she sets more store by her own vow than by the promise of the Messiah: *Angelus partum nuntiat*

¹ It is debated among the older commentators whether this vow was made for her by her parents in infancy, or by herself after she was grown up, or in concert with Joseph on their betrothal.

at illa virginitati adhaeret. But (1) according to Jewish law (Num. xxx. 1-16) a woman's vow, whatever its nature, was not binding against the will of her father and husband, and (2) have we any example of a vow of this nature among Jewish women? We know what was Elizabeth's feeling on the subject, how she speaks of her conception as "taking away her shame among men"; and, according to the Protevangelium, which may perhaps be trusted, where it deals, not with facts, but with the feeling of the time, this feeling was doubly strong in the case of Anna, the mother of Mary.

Supposing, however, that we accept the possibility of such a vow, how are we to account for the betrothal? How are the two compatible? After the angel's announcement, we can see a reason for the marriage, but how for betrothal before the announcement, if no marriage were intended? Evidently there was no previous suspicion of her future destiny in the Virgin's mind; or why should she have been so startled at the announcement when it came? To suppose a vow seems to impute to St. Luke or his authority such an ideal of marriage as gained favour with later apocryphal writers¹ (though prohibited by St. Paul in 1 Corinthians vii. 5), and which subsequently blossomed out into the scandals of the *συνείσακτοι ἀδελφαί* (see 1 Cor. ix. 5) condemned in the first Council of Nicaea. Again, the expression *οὐ γινώσκω ἄνδρα* is not what we should have expected. Maldonatus himself shrinks from the literal translation "I know not a man," and prefers "I do not know my husband." Want of refinement, however, is characteristic of Jewish writings, as is evidenced by the changes which are now generally made in reading certain Lessons in Church. It is also to be noted that

¹ Cf. the *Acta Xanthippae*, edited by M. R. James in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, vol. ii. part 3.

οὐκ ἔγνων ἄνδρα is a regular legal phrase for an unmarried woman (see Gen. xix. 8; Num. xxxi. 17, 18, 35; Jud. xxi. 12). But there is nothing to show that *οὐ γινώσκω ἄνδρα* would have been understood in the sense "I am under a vow." Why not *εὐχὴν ἔχω* (or *εὐχῇ δέδεμαι*) *τοῦ μὴ γινῶναι ἄνδρα*? The only explanation known to me, which gives a natural sense to the words, is a suggestion I have seen, I forget where, that the Greek *συλλήμψη* in Luke i. 31 may be an incorrect translation of an Aramaic original, meaning "Behold thou art now conceiving¹ in thy womb," to which *οὐ γινώσκω ἄνδρα* would be a natural rejoinder on the part of one who was seeking to find a reconciliation of two seemingly contradictory facts, not opposing her human volition (the vow) to the Divine Will. I should be glad to know whether this interpretation meets the approval of Aramaic scholars. If not, I confess that I am disposed to look upon the words *ἐπεὶ οὐ γινώσκω ἄνδρα* as a marginal adscript, which has crept into the text in the same way as the insertion of injunctions to fast in Mark ix. 29, Matthew xvii. 21.² I am led to this conclusion not only by the many difficulties we have been considering, but by the want of harmony between the apparent self-assertion of verse 34 and the general tone of the Gospel of the Infancy, especially the beautiful submission of verse 38, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word."

The next passage which presents itself for consideration is Matthew i. 18, *μνηστευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῇ Ἰωσήφ, πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου*. On learning this fact, Joseph is disposed

¹ Compare *Protev.* xi., *συλλήμψη ἐκ λόγου αὐτοῦ*.

² I learn from the article on Mary in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* that the same suggestion is made by Kattenbusch in his treatise on the Apostles' Creed, pp. 562-565.

to put her away secretly, but an angel appears to him in a dream and bids him take her to wife, because τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἐστὶν ἁγίου, and to give the name Jesus to the child who shall be born, since it is he who shall save his people from their sins. What we naturally gather from these words is that the betrothal of Joseph and Mary was a betrothal like other betrothals, with a view to a marriage like other marriages. Its character is changed first by the fact of Mary's pregnancy, and then by the angelic intimation made to Joseph with respect to it. Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxviii. 20) notices the phrase πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν as a difficulty in the way of his assumption that Joseph, at the time of his betrothal, was an octogenarian, and that Mary was assigned to him by lot, as a ward, not as a wife. He allows that the words naturally suggest a looking forward to the subsequent marriage union on the part of Joseph, but this, he says, was impossible owing to his age; and there he leaves the matter. It is sufficient to say that the supposition of the extreme age of Joseph, which Epiphanius borrows from the Apocryphal Gospels, fails to accomplish what the advocates of the Perpetual Virginity regard as the chief end of Mary's marriage, viz., to screen her from injurious imputations, such as are recorded by Celsus (*Orig. c. Cels.* i. 28 and 32); and it has been generally abandoned by modern upholders of this theory.¹ Another defence against the inference derived from the word συνελθεῖν has been attempted by the writer of the article on the Brethren of the Lord contained in Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ*. It is there asserted that συνελθεῖν means

¹ Many of the Fathers, beginning with Ignatius (*Eph.* xix., where see Lightfoot) supply a more mysterious reason for the marriage, as a means of deceiving Satan, who looked for the Christ to be born of a Virgin according to prophecy, and could not conceive of a Virgin-Wife.

nothing more than "set up house together," but surely the sense is sufficiently proved by the words which follow, *εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα* and *οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτήν*. As Maldonatus says, it is a euphemism, much like that in 1 Corinthians vii. 5, where the best reading is *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἦτε*, instead of the old *συνέρχησθε*.

In Matthew i. 25 we read *οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτήν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν υἱόν*, but Epiphanius (c. 17) gives *οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτήν ἕως οὗτου ἐγέννησε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον*. He endeavours to evade the natural force of the words by treating *ἔγνω* as if it were equivalent to *ἦδει*, and asks how Joseph was to know the dignity of Mary until he had seen the miraculous birth? Then with regard to *πρωτότοκον* he says: We must not translate it by her "first-born son," but by "her son, the firstborn of all creation."

Neither of these fancies has commended itself to modern Epiphanians; but Bishop Pearson, following some of the Fathers, and himself followed by Dr. Mill, has endeavoured to show that "the manner of the scripture language produceth no such inference, as that, from a limit assigned to a negative, we may imply a subsequent affirmative," and, strange to say, this has been accepted without examination even by so great a scholar as Lightfoot. As an example of Pearson's illustrations I may quote, "Michal, the daughter of Saul, had no child till the day of her death, yet it were a ridiculous stupidity to dream of any midwifery in the grave." Even X owns that the anti-Helvidians went too far in their efforts to explain away the force of *ἕως*, and allows (p. 76, n. 1) that I have been, "with some justice, very severe on the cases of supposed parallelism brought forward by Bishop Pearson"; but he adds, "He should have stopped there, for his own venture at illustration is no happier."

I am sorry that X has failed to see the force of my argu-

ment, and will do my best to make it clearer. Pearson having denied that a limit assigned to a negative can imply a subsequent affirmative, I answered by distinguishing between two kinds of limit, one of which suggests, while the other negatives the future occurrence of the action spoken of. Thus the statement that "the debate was adjourned till the papers should be in the hands of the members," as certainly implies the intention to resume the debate at a subsequent period, as the statement that "the debate was adjourned for six months" implies the contrary. The only question is, which kind of limit do we find in the sentence οὐκ ἐγίνωσκειν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν υἱὸν. Evidently it is a very different case to that of Michal. The limit is just that point of time at which the action so long forbidden, not only by the angel's warning, but also by the law of nature, as Clement says, and by the rule of the Church given in the Apostolic Constitutions, becomes both possible and natural.¹ We may compare the well-known parallel in Orig. *c. Cels.* i. 37, where it is said of Ariston, the father of Plato, καλυθέντος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος αὐτῇ (his wife Perictione) συνέλθειν ἕως ἀποκυήσει τὸν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος σπαρέντα; after which two sons and a daughter were born to him.² In like manner, if we read "Michal had no child till she left David and became the wife of Phaltiel," it were a ridiculous stupidity (to use Pearson's vigorous phrase) to doubt that the writer intended us to understand that she did have a child afterwards.

It is not quite easy to understand the objection made to this reasoning by X (p. 76, n. 1). "Obviously the statement that the debate was adjourned till the papers

¹ See the note on p. xxxiv. of my edition of St. James, and add a reference to the Life of Zenobia by Treb. Poll. (*Hist. Aug.* vol. ii. p. 117, Teubner).

² See Diog. L. iii. 5 with the notes of Menage.

should be in the hands of the members, carries the inference suggested, as would any other such general proposition. But we deny that this is a statement of that nature." I do not know whether my readers will find this more intelligible, if I quote from the text to which the note refers. It is said there that, "while it is true the explicit mention of Joseph's attitude towards our Lord's mother, taken as a general statement, implies a changed attitude later . . . yet a careful perusal of the paragraph shows that it is far from having the nature of a general statement. The passage is best regarded as a memorandum in the writing of Joseph, penned expressly for a double purpose" (viz., (1) to testify to the truth of the Virgin's story, (2) to assert that Joseph, equally with Mary, was acting in obedience to the divine command). "This latter point," it is added, "is invariably ignored¹ by those who press the earlier part to further the significance of their general proposition." I do not wish to speak harshly of X, but I confess I cannot see any point in these remarks of his. If Joseph knew that Mary remained a virgin after the birth of Jesus, as before, why did he use, what is at any rate an ambiguous phrase, *ἕως οὗ*, and not say distinctly *καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτὴν ποτε*, or *ἕως τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν*? But what a strange fancy that one who had had such proofs of God's protecting providence should have supposed that a memorandum from himself was required to guard his wife's honour, or could have dreamt that an affidavit signed by him would have the effect of shielding her from the aspersions which were afterwards cast upon her! But *non tali auxilio*!

¹ If this means that Helvidians suppose Joseph and Mary to have acted merely *proprio motu*, it is flatly opposed to what is said in p. xxxvi. of my edition of St. James, "Whichever way the divine guidance might lead them, we may be sure that the response of Mary would be still, 'Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it unto me according to thy word.'"

God is His own interpreter,
And He will make it plain.

In treating of this verse in my edition of St. James, I quoted Laurent's comment on the use of the imperfect *ἐγίνωσκε*, as implying abstention from a habit in contrast to the more usual *ἔγνων*. X (p. 76, n. 3) expresses his dissent, and maintains that the imperfect was necessary to convey the meaning which he supports. "The aorist would have favoured the Helvidian theory. It would have implied a definite abstention on the part of Joseph for a single occasion." It is important here to notice that this is the only instance of the use of the imperfect *ἐγίνωσκε* in this sense, either in the New Testament or the LXX. It is probable, therefore, that there is some special reason for its being chosen. The most usual force of the imperfect is to express continuous action for a limited period in the past, in contradistinction from the present tense which expresses continuous action prolonged up to the present time. A familiar example is 1 Corinthians xiii. 11, *ὅτε ἤμην νήπιος, ἐλάλουν . . . ἐφρόνουν . . . ἐλογιζόμην ὡς νήπιος· ὅτε γέγονα ἀνὴρ, κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου*, which might be otherwise expressed by saying *ἐλάλουν, ἐφρόνουν, ἐλογιζόμην ὡς νήπιος, ἕως ἀνὴρ ἐγενόμην*, a sentence agreeing in form with the one before us. On the other hand, the aorist is used to summarize a fact of the past, without necessarily indicating whether it is momentary or continuous. Thus it is used of a continuous fact in such passages as Judges ix. 22, *ἠρξεν Ἀβιμέλεχ τρία ἔτη*; 2 Samuel v. 5, *τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν*; Genesis xxiv. 16, *παρθένος ἦν, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔγνων αὐτήν*, which covers the whole life of Rebekah up to her marriage with Isaac, similarly Genesis xix. 8. In the horrible story of Judges xix. 25 we find the aorist joined with imperfect, *ἔγνωσαν αὐτήν καὶ ἐνέπαιζον ὅλην τὴν νύκτα*. Sometimes indeed the aorist becomes equivalent to

our present, as in Numbers xvi. 5, ἐπέσκεπται καὶ ἔγνω Θεὸς τοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ; Exodus xviii. 11, νῦν ἔγνω ὅτι μέγας Κύριος; or where it acquires an iterative or gnomic force, as in James i. 11, ἀνέτειλε; i. 24, κατενόησεν.

I go on now to Luke ii. 7, ἔτεκεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον. There is no question as to the proper meaning of the word *πρωτότοκος*,¹ but Bishop Lightfoot holds that to a Jew it conveyed the idea of special consecration, and that St. Luke himself shows that this typical reference was foremost in his own mind by quoting the law on the subject in verse 33. But is there any reason for supposing such a close connexion between the verses? The story of the Birth is followed by the visit of the shepherds, and that again by the Circumcision. Then at length comes the Presentation in the Temple, which is an independent narrative, introduced to give the prophetic utterances of Simeon and Anna, and explained by the offering required by the law.

I still think Bishop Lightfoot's argument is sufficiently answered by what I have written in p. 25: "No doubt the law as to the firstborn is equally valid, whether there are other children or not; but St. Luke is not here concerned in stating the law, but in giving a narrative of domestic life, viewed retrospectively from the standpoint of accomplished facts. Under these circumstances the use of *πρωτότοκος* is surely misleading, and therefore improbable, if there were no children afterwards." In my note on the same page I have quoted the definition given by Severianus, *πρωτότοκος λέγεται ὁ ἀδελφούς ἔχων*, and have pointed out that, wherever the word occurs either in the LXX

¹ Dr. Edersheim remarks that, if the Epiphanian theory were true, our Lord would not have been the heir to David's throne, as Joseph's elder sons would have ranked before him.

or the New Testament, even when used metaphorically, it retains this general connotation. Let us see what answer X makes to this. In p. 77 he says: "St. Luke is carefully fashioning his language on the model of the Old Testament, and adhering closely to highly technical phraseology. It is unsafe to base any argument on the use of a word with a precise liturgical value, and to adduce it as evidence of numerical quantity." In *n.* 4 he adds: "Dr. Plummer remarks that the word implies the possibility of subsequent children, and asks whether St. Luke would have used the word after this possibility had been decided, and Mary had had no other child." "Such a question," X thinks, "surprising. It ignores the chief characteristic of the narrative, and assumes that St. Luke would substitute a statistical detail for a picturesque touch."

I think the only answer to be made to this is that X himself must have a highly liturgical mind, by which I mean a mind that holds fast to phrases and formulas (compare his insistence on "general propositions" a few pages back), and cares little to penetrate to the underlying thoughts and facts. One part of our Lord's work was to do away with the "liturgical values" of His time; and it was because he carried on the same work afterwards that St. Paul was so hated by his countrymen.

The return from Egypt suggests to X an argument in favour of the Epiphanian hypothesis, because St. Matthew uses the same words in describing it as he had used in his description of the flight from Bethlehem, "he took the young child and his mother," and yet, according to the received chronology, a space of time had elapsed "in which the Helvidian theory would require, at least, one child to have been born" (p. 78). The simple answer is that the Evangelists exclude irrelevant matter, and that

the presence of another child at this period is not of the slightest importance. It need not even involve the use of an additional ass for their journey.

There is another incident of the Lord's childhood which appears to me, not indeed of itself to prove the existence of younger children, but to fall in with the supposition that there were such children. It is the visit to the Temple in our Lord's twelfth year. Is it likely that Mary and Joseph would have been so little solicitous about an only son, and that son the promised Messiah, as to travel for a whole day without taking the pains to ascertain whether he was in their company or not? If they had several young children to attend to, we can understand that their first thought would have been given to the latter. Otherwise is it conceivable that Mary, however complete her confidence in her eldest son, should have first lost him from her side, and then have allowed so long a time to pass without an effort to find him?

No attempt to answer this is made by X, but he puts forward another consideration which, he thinks, suggests a different conclusion (p. 79). Referring to Luke ii. 41, he says: "We are told that Mary went up to the Passover each year during their residence at Nazareth; could a journey of twice eighty miles be made at a specific date annually by a woman who was fulfilling the functions of motherhood to a large and increasing family?" The original merely says that it was the custom of his parents to go up yearly to the Passover (*ἐπορεύοντο κατ' ἔτος*). Of course such a custom does not imply an iron rule which allows of no exception. We have a parallel in the story of Hannah. We are told thrice over that she and her husband Elkanah and all his house used to go up yearly to sacrifice at Shiloh (1 Sam. i. 3, 7, 21), but in verse 22 we read that Hannah refused to go up during the time (prob-

ably three years) which elapsed between the birth and the weaning of Samuel.

We go on now to the consideration of what we are told about the Holy Family after the commencement of our Lord's public Ministry. From Mark vi. 1-6 (supplemented by Matt. xiii. 54, and Luke iv. 16 f.) we learn what was the general idea which the people of his own town, Nazareth, entertained of Jesus and of His family. He had been preaching in their synagogue on a text from Isaiah, and all were astonished at the wisdom and power with which He spoke. "Whence," said they, "hath this man this wisdom? Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? and his brethren James and Joses and Simon and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us? And they were offended in him. And Jesus said unto them, A prophet is not without honour save in his own country and among his own kin and in his own house."

I think the natural impression produced on any unprejudiced reader of these words is that the four brothers and two or more sisters here spoken of were children of Joseph and Mary,¹ that some of them at any rate were not in entire sympathy with Jesus, that the sisters were probably married in Nazareth, and in some way separate from the mother and the brethren; lastly, that Joseph himself was dead.

Taking our general cue from this passage, I proceed now to consider the earliest mention made of the Brethren.

¹ I do not of course deny (as seems to be assumed in p. 85 *n.*) that, as Jesus was generally known to his fellow-citizens as son of Joseph, so He might be generally spoken of as brother of Joseph's sons by a former wife, *if the fact of a former marriage were proved*; but this is just the point in question; unless it can be distinctly proved, the probability is greatly in favour of the word "brother" being used in its ordinary sense; and my quotations above are meant to show that the scripture narrative does not favour the supposition.

This is in John ii. 12, μετὰ τοῦτο κατέβη εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ μητὴρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. The immediately preceding event was the marriage of Cana, of which we are told¹ that the mother of Jesus was there, presumably as of right, and that Jesus and His disciples were invited to the marriage. It would seem, therefore, that His mother was closely connected with the family who were celebrating the marriage feast. It is not distinctly stated that the brothers were there, but as they are not named as included in the invitation given to the disciples, and yet are mentioned in company with the mother in verse 12, we naturally suppose that they shared the same right as she did to be present at the marriage. The comment of X on this passage is curious. He states in p. 78 n. 1 that "St. John never associates the brethren with the Virgin. At Cana they are present in the house, and Jesus and His disciples are called." But if we are right in inferring, what is not distinctly stated, that the brothers were present in the house, then they were undoubtedly associated with the Virgin, whose presence is asserted by St. John. X continues, "When they leave, St. John, as usual, speaks of the company in pairs, but he transposes them and adds, He and his mother and *the* brethren and His disciples," where, I suppose, X considers that the change of "his" into "the" before "brethren" implies a doubt on the part of St. John as to their right to be called "brethren of the Lord." I content myself here with a small grammatical observation. Every one knows that the article in Greek frequently has the force of a possessive pronoun, and also that αὐτοῦ may be supplied from one word to another, as in Luke viii. 19, ἡ μητὴρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ. Would X translate this

¹ In verses 1, 2.

"The mother and his brethren"? Compare also John vii. 3, 5, 10, where we read thrice over οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ.

We find then that it is incorrect to say that St. John never associates the brethren with the Virgin, because he associates them at the marriage, and adds that they went down afterwards to Capernaum with His mother and His disciples, on which Westcott's comment is, "As yet the family life was not broken." It is true their sojourn on this particular occasion was not for long, but from that time forth Capernaum is spoken of as the home, instead of Nazareth (Matt. iv. 13). The word "never" itself is misleading, when we remember that the brothers are only mentioned in two passages of St. John, and that the other passage (vii. 3-10) is that of which we shall speak shortly, where they endeavour to dissuade Jesus from going up to Jerusalem, and where the fact that nothing is said of the mother is probably to be understood as showing that she refused to share in their remonstrance.

I go on now to the scene described in Mark iii. 20-22, 31-33. "And the multitude cometh together again, so that they could not so much as eat bread. And when his friends (οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ) heard it, they went out to lay hold on him: for they said, He is beside himself. And the scribes which came down from Jerusalem said, He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of the devils casteth he out devils. . . . And there come his mother and his brethren (ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ); and standing without, they sent unto him, calling him. And a multitude was sitting about him; and they say unto him, Behold, thy mother and thy brethren without seek thee. And he answered them, and saith, Who is my mother and my brethren? And looking round on them that sat round about him, he said, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of

God, the same is my brother and sister and mother."

Here, too, I think the natural impression on an unprejudiced reader is that οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ (cf. *de chez lui*) implies one household, that brothers and sisters are such in the strict sense of the word, that all shared a common anxiety when they heard that the Son and the Brother was so absorbed in His work of teaching and healing, that He took no thought of the necessities of life (cf. John iv. 34). Added to this was the fact that the religious authorities brought against Him the same charge as they had done against the Baptist, "He hath a devil and is mad," meaning perhaps little more than "He is a wild enthusiast, and will soon wear Himself out, unless His friends insist on His taking rest." It has been said that the behaviour of the brothers here towards Jesus is that of elders towards a younger. But is it not more probable that Mary herself was the one who would feel most anxious about her Son, and most ready to suggest some way of inducing Him to take rest? It is she who stands first in the rebuke, "Who is my mother?" "Behold my mother." We may suppose, therefore, that she was in error here, as she had been at Cana, and as she had been in the Temple, when her complaint at His disappearance drew forth from her Son the words, "Wist ye not that I must be ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός? To take a parallel case, is it more in accordance with human nature that a second wife should be induced by her stepsons to take action against her own firstborn and only child, than that a mother, with several children of her own, should consult with the younger ones when a sudden danger seems to threaten the eldest and dearest?

I will add here some remarks from my Introduction to St. James, p. xxvii., as they form the subject of comments by X. "It depends more upon the positive than the relative age of brothers whether the interference of

a younger with an elder is probable or improbable. When all have reached manhood and have settled in their different spheres, a few years' difference in age does not count for much. . . . If we remember how little even the Apostles were able to appreciate the aims and methods of our Lord up to the very end of His life, how different was their idea of the Kingdom of Heaven and the office of the Messiah from His, we shall not wonder if His younger brothers, with all their admiration for His genius and goodness, were at times puzzled and bewildered at the words which fell from His lips ; if they regarded Him as a self-forgetting idealist and enthusiast, wanting in knowledge of the world as it was, and needing the constant care of His more practical friends to provide Him with the ordinary comforts and necessities of life. This much, I think is certain from the facts of the case ; and we need nothing more than this to explain their fear that His mind might be overstrained, and their attempt to dictate the measures He should adopt in going up to the feast." The above is commented on in pp. 87 and 90. It is there said that the "attitude of domineering interference on the part of the brothers is apparent ; that "it is only an uncritical amiability which can see in their behaviour an instance of affectionate solicitude" ; that our Lord was "a man singularly wide-awake and clear-sighted in His scrutiny of men and circumstances" ; that there is nothing to lead us to suppose "that younger brothers could have been conscious of superiority in any department of life. And the impression of seniority must, we think, be allowed its full significance."

It will be noticed that X makes no reference to Mary. The brothers are guilty of domineering interference, but the mother disappears from the story. In order to justify this view, he adopts a reading, rejected by WH. and

Prof. Swete, which puts "brethren" before "mother" in Mark iii. 31, though it keeps the usual order in the verses that follow. The reason which he assigns for supposing that the brothers were older than our Lord, is to me very extraordinary. "Younger brothers could not be conscious of superiority: the impression of seniority must be allowed its full significance." I see no consciousness of superiority, unless we are to say that Crito was conscious of superiority to Socrates when he urged him in vain to make his escape from prison. And what has "clearsightedness" to do with it? We are speaking of "One who saved others, and therefore could not save Himself." Are we to blame His mother and His brothers if the fearful foreboding of such an end was like a sword piercing their own hearts?

The next passage for consideration is John vii. 2-8. "Now the feast of the Jews, the feast of tabernacles, was at hand. His brethren therefore said unto him, Depart hence and go into Judaea, that thy disciples also may behold the works which thou doest. For no man doeth anything in secret and himself seeketh to be known openly. If thou doest these things, manifest thyself to the world. For even (οὐδέ) his brethren did not believe on him. Jesus therefore said unto them, My time is not yet come, but your time is alway ready. The world cannot hate you, but me it hateth, because I testify of it that its works are evil."

On this X says: "Whatever may be said of the earlier incident, here the attitude of the brothers is seen to be definitely hostile. It is trifling with the Evangelist's words to see in them a precautionary effort on the brothers' part to dictate the measures our Lord should adopt in going up to the feast. As a matter of fact, the brethren here display a reckless disregard of His welfare, and are

ready to thrust Him into a perilous position. The constant friction between Him and the ecclesiastical authorities appears to be becoming too severe a strain on their affection, and they are at a loss to understand His diffidence. So they would goad Him into decided action by taunts at His inconsistent conduct. . . . Our Lord's reply to the brethren recalls His vehement denunciation of Peter, when he made himself the mouthpiece of Satan. Now these men of His own household have ranged themselves on the side of the world-power."

I think X forgets here that those against whom he is so bitter were shortly to take their place by the side of the Apostles in defiance of the ecclesiastical authorities; that the leading one among them would become the head of the Church at Jerusalem; and that he and his brother Jude would write epistles, which would be treasured up for all time among the sacred writings of the Church.¹ Christ's words leave no doubt that the brothers were in the wrong here, but were they more in the wrong than the sons of Zebedee when they wished to call down fire from heaven, or quarreled about precedence in the Messianic kingdom? Westcott, in his note on John vii. 5, "For neither did his brethren believe on him," seems to me to give the true account of the matter. "The phrase need not mean more than that they did not sacrifice to absolute trust in Him all the fancies and prejudices which they cherished as to Messiah's office." "They ventured to advise and urge, when faith would have been content to wait." I will add that they are eager for the triumph of their Brother and impatient at its delay. They de-

¹ In p. 89 X makes the rather curious suggestion that, after the death of Joseph, James may have "acted as the Virgin's ally," and that this fact, and the authoritative position which he held in the home at Nazareth, may have made it natural for the Apostolic band to concede to him the first place in the Christian family.

mand that He should manifest His power at the centre of action, rather than in remote districts. No doubt they hope, as His disciples did, to share the glory of His kingdom ; but it is an entire mistake to speak of their conduct as evincing hostility or jealousy ¹ towards Him.

“ If the mother of Jesus had had other sons, would He on the cross have commended her to the care of a disciple rather than to that of a brother ? ” In urging this objection Bishop Lightfoot speaks of the Helvidian theory as requiring us to believe that the mother, though living in the same city with her sons and joining with them in a common worship (Acts i. 14), is consigned to the care of a stranger, of whose house she becomes henceforth the inmate.” The word “ stranger ” is hardly applicable to the disciple whom Jesus loved, who appears also to have been the son of Salome, His mother’s sister. It seems to me, therefore, an exaggeration to say that “ our Lord would thus have snapped asunder the most sacred ties of natural affection.” If, as was probably the case, the younger brothers of our Lord were already married, whether living in separate houses or in a common household with their mother,² we can see distinct reasons why

¹ So Mr. Harris in *Hastings’ Dict. of Christ*, i. p. 236.

² In the *Introduction to St. James* (p. xxvii.) I wrote “ dispersed in their several homes,” while I had previously spoken of the brothers as forming one household with their mother. My critic speaks of this as “ a glaring inconsistency ” (p. 80). The essential thing is that, in the one case, the mother and the brothers act together as one family ; in the other case, that St. John’s quiet home is better suited for the mother than the bustle of family life, which would be all the greater if the married brothers still form one household. From the articles under “ House ” and “ Family ” in *Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible*, I am inclined to think that the brothers and their wives still occupied the same house with the mother. In the former article it is said, “ As it is customary for the married sons to remain under their parents’ roofs and bring up families, a house may often have had forty or fifty inmates, exclusive of servants and slaves ” ; and similarly in the latter article we read, “ The members of a Hebrew household included some or all of

He should have commended her to the charge of her nephew, who was probably unmarried and living in a house of his own. "Could this," I added, "be regarded as in any way a slight put upon her other sons? Must they not have felt that the busy life of a family was not suited for the quiet pondering which now more than ever would characterize their mother? and further, that this communion between the Mother and the Disciple was likely to be not only a source of comfort to both, but also most profitable to the Church at large?"

The objections made to this reasoning by X (in p. 80) are that I am "endeavouring to show the *expediency* of an action, the permissibility of which is denied." I wonder whether we are to take this sentence as a specimen of "the dry light of criticism" (p. 76) by which it was proposed to disperse the Helvidian mirage. To me it suggests rather the stumbling of a man befogged in his own abstractions, and desperately clutching (by means of italics) at the two points of which he is sure, viz., that I argued for the *expediency* of something, while he himself denied the permissibility of something. To clear the fog let us ask, What is the action referred to, by whom is its permissibility denied, and on what grounds? The action is evidently that of which I affirm the expediency, and that is our Lord's commendation of His mother to the disciple whom He loved; but surely X does not deny the permissibility of this. However we may disagree on other points, we should all agree that whatever He did was not permissible only, but the one right thing to be done. Supposing He had commended His mother to

the following, the man, his mother (if residing with him after the father's death), his wives, children, daughters-in-law and sons-in-law, other friends or dependants. Sometimes the widowed mother appears as the head of the household, as in the case of Micah (Jud. xvii. 1-4) and of Mary after Joseph's death."

the charge of Mary of Bethany, rather than to that of St. John, who could have ventured to dispute His right to do so? Perhaps, however, X speaks of permissibility from the point of view of Jewish law. He may mean that a widowed mother was compelled to reside with her sons after their father's death, and that this rule could on no account be dispensed with. If this is what he maintains, let him show evidence that there was such a law, and, what is more, that our Lord would have felt bound to observe it.

But X may be thinking of a sentence of Lightfoot's, which he quotes a little before, that the fact of the unbelief of the brothers "would scarcely have been allowed to override the paramount duties of filial piety." In my Introduction I have excluded the unbelief of the brothers from the consideration of the question, because a few hours saw unbelief changed into fervent belief. We have simply to consider generally what is the duty of sons towards a widowed mother. Undoubtedly their duty is to show towards her in all fitting ways the feelings of love and gratitude. But does this require them to dictate to her, where, and with whom, she shall live? If, on the advice of her wisest and oldest friends, she chooses to live alone, or with one who is not a relation, are we to say either that she is wanting in natural affection, if she takes this advice, or that her sons are failing in filial duty if they consent to its being done?

There is nothing further, I think, in the review bearing on the evidence from Scripture, except the allusions to the later history of St. James. Speaking of his Epistle, X says the comparison between it and the Sermon on the Mount given in my edition "would gain in significance, if it were made with the sources of the Sermon rather than the Sermon itself." I am not quite sure what is

intended by the "Sources of the Sermon." In p. xliv. I have said, "It is to be noticed that, close as is the connexion of sentiment and language in many of these passages, it never amounts to actual quotation. It is like the reminiscence of thoughts often uttered by the original speaker and sinking into the heart of the hearer, who reproduces them in his own manner." If, on the other hand, by "sources" is meant the Jewish sources, such as were collected by Deutsch many years ago in his famous article, I have touched on these in my notice of Spitta's argument in favour of the pre-Christian origin of the Epistle (pp. clxviii.-clxxviii., ed. 2).

In p. 80, X thinks it necessary to "remind the reader that the man most prominent in the early Church for his ascetical life, residence hard by the Temple, and assiduity in devotional attendance at its worship, was no other than James, the very man who is now maintained to be Blessed Mary's eldest surviving son." Here, too, I find it a little difficult to make out what is the point of the argument, but I suppose it is considered that the story of James' asceticism in his old age is inconsistent with his being married in youth, which I have inferred from St. Paul's words in 1 Corinthians ix. 5. The story of his asceticism is given by Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxviii. pp. 1039 f. and 1045). "James was the eldest son of Joseph, he died in his ninety-sixth year, having preserved his virginity intact, having never cut his hair or tasted flesh, or used a bath, or worn more than one tunic. He alone was allowed to enter the Holy of Holies once a year, and to wear the priestly *petalum* because he was a Nazarite and of kin to the priests." The story is doubtful for many reasons, which I need not dwell on here, and it differs in some respects from the account given by Hegesippus (*ap.* Euseb. *H.E.* ii. 23. 5), who says nothing of his vir-

ginity, but merely gives the particulars of the Nazarite life: "He was holy from his mother's womb, drank no wine, nor strong drink, nor ate animal food; no razor came on his head, nor did he anoint himself with oil, nor use the bath. To him alone it was permitted to enter into the Holy Place, for he wore no woollen, but linen. His knees became hard as a camel's, because he was ever upon them, worshipping God and asking forgiveness for the people." Even of Hegesippus Lightfoot says, "There is much in his account which cannot be true: the assigning to him a privilege which was confined to the high priest alone is plainly false. . . . Still it is possible that James may have been a Nazarite, may have been a strict ascetic."

One other point may be noticed: X finds an explanation of "the intensely Judaistic tone" of the Epistles of the two brothers James and Jude, and "their dissimilarity to all the other apostolic writings," in the supposed fact that "they were already full-grown men when they accepted the Messianic claim of our Lord." I think this estimate of the Epistles very much exaggerated. Is it fair to characterize as "intensely Judaistic" a writing which includes such a passage as the following, "But ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Spirit, keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life" (Jude 20 f.)? But I have no time to discuss this here, and can only refer those who are interested in the subject to what I have said in my edition of the two Epistles.

I reserve for another article the consideration of Tradition and Sentiment.

J. B. MAYOR.

*A PLEA FOR THE RECOGNITION OF THE FOURTH
GOSPEL AS AN HISTORICAL AUTHORITY.*

II.

PREFATORY MATTER.

THE first instalment of this essay concluded with a tentative exposition of St. John's account of the "Feeding of the Five Thousand." This conclusion was necessarily brief and inadequate, since space and time were limited. But the title adopted seemed to require, that something should be said about the Fourth Gospel; and, further, it seemed proper, that some definite instance of the alleged superiority and independence of the Johannine tradition should be put forward at once.

It would have been more prudent, perhaps, to put forward a less debateable proof of the superiority of the Fourth Gospel—its dating of the Crucifixion. Most scholars would agree that in this point St. John corrects an error of the Synoptists, who actually bear witness against themselves. And this is a particular, concrete exemplification of the thesis, which is here maintained:—that once, and so long as, the tradition was entrusted to persons who were not eye-witnesses, it was apt to be modified and misunderstood—until John. The corollary of this thesis is, that, therefore, the Fourth Gospel is an indispensable aid to the right appreciation of the other three.

Men who knew only the risen Lord were prone to view the things told them about Jesus of Nazareth in the light of that later glory. And so they were ready to find proofs of His essential Divinity in facts and acts, which were not regarded by His companions as transcending the power of man. At the first they did not so far confound the stages of the Incarnation, as to veil His past

poverty with the present wealth of their loving awe. They who received from the original disciples did not regard their common Lord as God Manifest before His Resurrection from the dead. But they were inclined to wonder if this or that event of the humiliation were not itself also a latent revelation of the perfect God as well as of the perfect Man ; or, it may be, a fulfilment of yet another prophecy, which might help to show that Jesus was the Christ. And so—to take a simple example—they sometimes put *Lord* for *Jesus*, when they reproduced the narratives, which they inherited.

Modification upon these and similar lines was inevitable. The wonder is, that in the case of the Christian tradition there is so little of this modification in the books, which have been permanently received by the Church as a whole. The Synoptic Gospels and the Acts come to us from circles of men, who believed that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God ; that He died upon the Cross and was raised by the power of God. And yet they tell us that this Jesus was rebuked by Simon, whom we call St. Peter, and recognise as the foremost champion of Christendom. They tell us that Jesus' disciples forsook Him and denied Him.

The Gospel attributed to St. Mark, as known to us, begins with *The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ*—some add *the Son of God*—and in its true form, as known, it ends with *for they feared*. He and his successors report Jesus' denunciations of Pharisees, which reckless readers have extended to the whole sect of the Pharisees and even to the whole nation of the Jews ; and they report also that sundry Pharisees and priests were obedient to the Faith.

Whatever theories the editors of these books may have suggested to their readers in other times and in other lands, they themselves practised neither reserve of doctrine nor any suppression of facts. They handed on what they

received. They were not philosophers but chroniclers; and they were not Hume-anists. The famous axiom *Miracles do not happen* was not yet discovered; still less was it held in reserve at the back of their minds. But some of the traditions, which St. Luke (for example) collected in order to establish *the certainty*, had been enriched by the collocation of prophecy; and others had been magnified, because they were partially unknown. The Evangelists were not eye-witnesses—*ἕως Ἰωάννου*, until John.

But, side by side with the three Synoptic Gospels, the Church ranks the Gospel according to St. John. And, although an early tradition speaks of this as the *spiritual* Gospel, it is not, therefore, to be supposed that it was accepted as a work of fiction, which had nothing to do with actual, material phenomena. It contains narratives of fact which are in no way more miraculous—if degrees of the miraculous be admitted—than the Synoptic narratives. Often these narratives explain the antecedents of what might be called “Synoptic” incidents; and when St. John coincides with his predecessors, here also he seems to correct the impression of something superhuman, which they produced—consciously or unconsciously—upon their readers. Of this coincidence and deliberate correction of prevalent misapprehensions, there are two notable examples in the sections known as *the Feeding of the Five Thousand* and *the Walking on the Sea*.

“Ears, as one of the ancients rightly said, are less trustworthy than eyes. They do not come into contact with the facts, but are dragged about by the words, which act as interpreters of the fact and are not invariably true. Wherefore also some of the Greek legislators, borrowing from the holy tablets of Moses, seem to do well to ordain that, Hearsay is not evidence.”¹

¹ Philo, ii. p. 345, M.

Prolegomena apparently excessive seem to be necessary in historical investigation. Any part of Christian origins is far removed from the present. That interval must be surmounted and its contents forgotten, before even a bird's-eye view of the facts can be obtained by a modernist. It is necessary to begin to study any part of history a long way off and *before the event*, if comprehension and not mere entertainment is the aim of the student. The Horatian gibe about Leda's egg does not apply. *Primâ facie* it is improbable that there is a short cut leading to a peak of Darien.

THE TWO SIGNS OF JOHN VI.

The application of this principle to these two narratives leads to a conclusion, which is not commonly received. But the principle, that the Synoptic Gospels must be interpreted in the light of St. John's Gospel, seems to be a sound one. And its logical consequences are not to be rejected without examination, because they conflict with traditional opinions.

It is neither prudent nor profitable to take up a position, which exposes one to a cross-fire. But Philo says somewhere that he writes ἂ μοι δοκεῖ μὴ πρὸς δόξας πολλῶν ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐραυνωμένῳ. And if one goes on digging and entrenching, the shots of the opposing forces may pass over one's head to find other billets. To hold that St. John eliminates the miraculous from two narratives may be an eccentricity, but it is hardly an offence—at any rate in the eye of any law which runs in this country. It is indeed contrary to the authority of Bishop Westcott; and it is scant comfort to be told that Schweitzer believes the Marcan tradition of the Meal to be non-miraculous and therefore credible, and that the "rationalistic" explanation of the Walking on the Sea is as old as Paulus. But it is reassuring

to read that Chrysostom says at the beginning of his Homily on the Meal :

Behold Him everywhere retiring, when John 'was delivered up and when he was killed, and when the Jews heard that He was making more disciples. The fact is, that He purposes to carry out the greater part of His work as a man : the hour does not yet summon Him to uncliothe His Deity clearly.¹

Bishop Westcott says :

It will be obvious that these two "signs"² are introductory to the discourse which follows. Both correct limited views springing out of our material conceptions. Effects are produced at variance with our ideas of quantity and quality. That which is small becomes great. That which is heavy moves on the surface of the water. Contrary elements yield at a divine presence. Both "signs,"² in other words, prepare the way for new thoughts of Christ, of His sustaining, preserving, guiding power, and exclude deductions drawn from corporeal relations only. He can support men though visible means fall short. He is with His disciples, though they do not recognize or see Him. And in both cases also the powers and action of men are needed. They receive and assimilate the food which is given ; they take Christ into their boat before they reach the haven.

Now, without abating my reverence for Bishop Westcott, I submit that this is more than exegesis of the text ; it is the elucidation of the moral, of the permanent or spiritual significance of the signs, regarded as miracles. I am sure that any Jew of the time would bear me out in saying that these "signs"—being regarded as acts of superhuman power—would signify to Jews—

(1) that Jesus could repeat the miracles of Elisha or of Moses ;

(2) that Jesus was Divine—as it is written :

God alone stretcheth out the heavens,

*And treadeth upon the waves of the sea.*³

¹ τὰ γὰρ πλεονα ἀνθρωπινώτερον βούλεται διοικεῖν, οὐδέπω τοῦ καιροῦ καλοῦντος ἀπογυμνώσαι τὴν θεότητα σαφῶς. Hom. in Matt. xlix. *in init.* (ed. Field, Tom. II. p. 43).

² The inverted commas are Bp. Westcott's own.

³ Job ix. 8.

It is to be remembered that we are investigating the lowliness of the final Revelation—the bottom-most rungs of young Christianity's ladder—the pit from which we were digged.

I submit that Bishop Westcott's elucidation of the Johannine narrative goes beyond the simplicity of St. John, borrows from St. Mark and even from St. Matthew, and does not take account of the discourse, which is thus introduced.

In regard to "the Walking upon the Sea," St. John rationalised away the supposed miracle, before Paulus; and other narratives must be read in the light of St. John's. Is there any real evidence that our Lord's body before His Resurrection was different from the bodies of other men? In his Commentary on the narrative, Bishop Westcott comes very near to the admission that ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, here as elsewhere, means *on the shore*.

But for the present, in view of sundry criticisms which have reached me, I must still concern myself with the Meal of the Five Thousand, and try to explain the difficulties which are felt, at the risk of appearing μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν.

One of my critics regards *the fragments* as fatal to my theory and derides the allusion to the Law, which I find in *the green grass*, as well as the suggestion that *grass* means human food. Generally, they charge me with obscurity and allusiveness.

To take the last point first—allusions are of the nature of Metaphor and Allegory. If they are recognised by the reader, they attract his attention and establish a bond between him and the writer. If the allusion is apt, it is not merely a *symbolon* or password, but in itself it has the effect of relieving the tedium of an otherwise unconvincing narrative with suggestions of happier hours.

The phrase *green grass* is a stepping-stone from the general to the particular criticisms, which are yet to be met. It is said to be "very commonplace" and impotent to carry the mind back to Genesis. Well, much depends upon the mind and upon its native language. I do not think that *χλωρὸς χόρτος* is a "very commonplace phrase." *Grass* is (ideally) *green* always: *χόρτος* is *not* always *χλωρός*. Indeed, *χλωρὸς χόρτος* might be regarded as an *Oxymoron* or a *Paradox*, a "*Contradiction in terms*"—the figure of which the phrases *splendide mendax*, *faith unfaithful*, and the like, were once the stock examples. According to the Lexicon *χόρτος* means a *feeding-ground* or *food*. And even in *profane* Greek *χόρτος* is used of human food. Phrases are not equivalent, when they are transferred into another language or exported to foreign lands.¹

To read the Scriptures in a translation is the stage preliminary to the belief—tacit or proclaimed and authorised—that the translators were inspired.

In fact, I think nobly of the mind and in no way approve the opinion of my critic. A Jew of the period, who knew Greek, would surely have remembered the dietary, which was prescribed for Adam in the Law. In those days men believed and studied the Scriptures: they sought to order and amend their lives according to its requirements.

*Melius est vocari ad olera cum charitate
Quam ad vitulum saginatum cum odio.*

ΧΟΡΤΟΣ.

To show that *χόρτος*, *herbage*, can be used of human food, I should have thought it sufficient to refer to the sentence pronounced by God and recorded in Genesis. However it be interpreted, the Scripture remains. Two

¹ Ecclus. Prol.

passages are quoted from “profane” writers in the Paris Thesaurus; but these are beside the point, when the interpretation of an Aramaic-Greek writer is in question. *χόρτος* is עֵשֶׁב¹: *χορτάζειν* is שָׁבַע. It is unnecessary to give at length the usage and associations of these doubly related words.

On the primary passage² Philo says:—“*And thou shalt eat the herb of the field in the sweat of thy <face thou shalt eat thy bread>. Herb and Bread are used as synonymous—the same thing. Herb is the food of the irrational; and the wicked man, from whom right reason has been excised, is irrational.*”³

R. Joshua ben Levi had a tradition, which distinguished between the herb and the bread, and which identified the herb, it would seem, with the thistle. “When God spoke to Adam these words, he burst into tears and said, ‘Lord of the world, shall I with mine ass eat out of one crib?’ But when he heard the words, ‘In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread,’ his mind was at rest.”⁴

That *χόρτος* was normally food for cattle rather than man, I will not deny. So also was barley bread. It is recorded that on occasion the Jews eat herbage. I cite the records, though they do not contain the actual word *χόρτος*.

It is written, “There came a famine over all Egypt and Canaan and great tribulation, and our fathers found not *provender* (*χορτάσματα*). But Jacob heard that there was *corn* (*σίτια*) in Egypt.”⁵

It is written again, “The children of Israel also wept again and said, O that we had flesh to eat. We remember

¹ Or רִצְיָן.

² Genesis iii. 18.

³ *χόρτον καὶ ἄρτον καλεῖ συνωνύμως, πρᾶγμα ταύτων χόρτος ἀλόγου τροφή ἐστιν. ἀλογον δὲ <ὁ> φᾶνλος ἐκτεταγμένος τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον . . . σφόδρα γὰρ ὀδυνηρὸς καὶ ἐπαχθὴς ὁ τοῦ ἄφρονος βλος.* Legum Allegor. II. § 251, p. 137 M (C. W., vol. i., pp. 168 f.).

⁴ Pesachim 118a: Bacher, *Agada der Paläst. Amoräer*, i. p. 56.

⁵ Acts vii. 11 f.

the fish, which we were wont to eat in Egypt for nought; the cucumbers and the melons *and the leeks*¹ and the onions and the garlick; but now our soul is dried away, there is nothing at all: we have nought save this manna to look to.”² There is nothing here about the *genus* *χόρτος*; but particular *species* are enumerated and among them *leeks*—*חציר* has for once its specialised Aramaic sense.

Again, at a later time, when the Jews had perhaps lost their preference for such food, it says, “Judas, who is also called Maccabæus, with nine others or thereabout, withdrew himself, and with his company kept himself alive in the mountains after the manner of wild beasts; and they continued feeding on such poor herbs as grew there,³ that they might not be partakers of the *threatened* pollution.”⁴ When Judas *retired*, he and his followers lived on *the herbage*—*τὴν χορτῶδη τροφήν*.

Hitherto I have been unable to discover any parallel,⁵ which would warrant the translation of the Synoptic phrase by “they sat down to the green grass.” The verb of the Synoptists *ἀνακλίνεσθαι* is not commonly used in the sense of “sit at meat.” St. John’s *ἀνακείσθαι* lies under the censure of Phrynichus, who says that the word is properly the passive of *ἀνατιθέναι*, *dedicate*, and must not be used in the sense of *recline* or *sit at meat*⁶: Herodian⁷ represents some comic poet as ridiculing that use of the verb which Phrynichus here reprehends.⁸

¹ τὰ πάντα.

² Num. xi. 4 ff., translation of G. B. Gray, ICC., p. 101.

³ Gr. *the grassy food* (R.V. margin). ⁴ 2 Macc. v. 27 (R.V.).

⁵ 3 Macc. v. 16 (*ἐκέλευσεν τοὺς παραγεγονότας ἐπὶ τὴν συμπόσιον ἀντικρυς ἀνακλῖναι αὐτοῦ*) is doubtful.

⁶ ἀνακεῖται μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρίας καὶ ἀναθήματα, καλῶς ἐρεῖς, ἀνάκειται δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης οὐκέτι, ἀλλὰ κείται (? κατὰκειται).

⁷ Pierson’s ed. p. 441.

⁸ κατακεῖσθαι· ἐπὶ τῶν ἐστιωμένων ἀνακεῖσθαι δ’ ἐπὶ εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδριάντων. ἐπὶ τῶν γούρ τινος, Ἀνάκεισο, ὁ κωμικὸς παῖζων ἀνδριάντας ἐστίας ἐφη. (Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, exci. p. 294.

The compound *κατακεῖσθαι*, of which this Comic Poet approves, is construed with ἐπὶ κλίνῃ and ἐπὶ κλιῶν. Therefore, so far as the available evidence goes, ἐπὶ τοῦ χόρτου of St. Matthew and ἐπὶ τῷ χλωρῷ χόρτῳ of St. Mark, will both refer to the couch, and not to the fare, *to which* they sat down. And therefore, St. John expands the phrase into a separate sentence, *Now there was much green-stuff in the place*. The significance of this mention of the χόρτος is elucidated by the later employment of the word χορτάζειν. When the crowds followed Jesus into His retirement across the Lake, He said to them, *Verily, verily I tell you, you seek me not because you saw signs, but because you did eat of the loaves and were fed*—ἐχορτάσθητε.¹

THE FRAGMENTS.

My critic insists that, although the following discourse rules out the miracle, yet the fragments of the five barley loaves demand its restoration. If this be so, I suggest that the fragments are not sufficient to outweigh the discourse. The universal tendency has been to find a miraculous element in *all* the incidents of our Lord's life upon earth. Any exception such as this is therefore the more to be accepted.

Chrysostom, in his commentary, insists upon the collection of the fragments as proving that the event was not a fantasy of the imagination.² But he does not use the accepted text, which affirms that the fragments were derived *from the five barley loaves, which were superfluous to the eaters*.

This omission, which is supported by Augustine, puts a different complexion upon the episode. *Twelve* baskets

¹ John vi. 26.

² ἐπιστοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὰ κλάσματα τὸ γεγονὸς ἀμφοτέρα ἐμφαίνοντα καὶ ὅτι οὐ φαντασία τις ἦν τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ ὅτι ἐξ ἐκείνων ἦν ὧν ἐτράφησαν.

were filled: there were *twelve* disciples. On their mission these disciples had gone forth without store of food or money, dependent upon the charity of their hearers. Now they were to be no longer apostles nor even, for the time, companions of Jesus. They must be removed from the contagion and the charity of the popular enthusiasm. Therefore they must have food; each of them must fill his basket.

The people had shown themselves ready to become His men—ready to follow Him, to seize Him and to make Him king. But He would work no sign to gratify their craving for certainty. The Son of Man had only spiritual food to offer. God had sealed Him, and He needed no sealing from man. Moses had procured material sustenance for his followers, who were baptized into his name; but Jesus, the promised Prophet, was Himself the bread of God, which offers life to the world. No sign shall be given to this generation except the Son of Man Himself. The work, which God required of them, was that they should believe in His apostle in spite of disappointments and despair.

It is noteworthy that the Synoptists do not specify the nature of the fragments. That the fragments distributed by Jesus Himself should be collected, if they fell to the ground, is natural enough. This part of the meal had a sacred character. Philo and Josephus are familiar with a discrimination of the firstfruits in ordinary meals, which therefore become in some sort sacramental.¹ And it would seem that Jesus utilised the breaking of bread as a sacrament or symbol, in virtue of which every meal which any of His disciples shared with Him set forth and showed their faith in Him and in God. Their fathers, also, had eaten the Passover-meal, while yet they were in Egypt and before

¹ See *J.Q.R.*, July, 1907, p. 628 ff.

they were baptized into Moses. So they in their turn, while their Master was still with them and in the world, had a rite, which pointed forward to their deliverance. If He were with them, there was no need of a lesser Temple or Priest to mediate between or to unite God and His suppliants. The sacrament was part of the common meal; and it remained a part of the common meal, till men forgot to *discriminate*.

But the broken victuals—τὰ κλάσματα—are not the relics of the barley-loaves only. Indeed, John omits to say that the loaves, which Jesus distributed on this occasion, were broken, lest any should infer their breaking and misinterpret the incident. The fragments collected were not necessarily fragments in the sense of the Law.

THE JOHANNINE NARRATIVE.

Andrew's suggestion¹ recalls the miracle wrought by Elisha—as the narrative stands. There is a *lad* (παιδάριον) who has five *barley* loaves. It is not necessary to postulate any "Rabbinic subtlety," in order to believe that he was conscious of this allusion or that Jesus would recognise it. It is only necessary to remember that the Jews were familiar with the Scripture, and that the disciples of Jesus had special reasons² for searching the Scriptures—even supposing that they had been inclined to neglect the general obligation and had forgotten what they had learned in their youth.

Andrew had been John Baptist's disciple. John Baptist came *in the spirit and power of Elijah*.³ Jesus Himself had been baptized by John Baptist; and came *after him*. In some sort, therefore, Jesus was disciple of John Baptist,

¹ John vi. 8 f.

² John v. 39; Luke xxiv. 25–27.

³ Luke i. 17. Compare Mark ix. 13.

albeit greater than His master. By a revelation¹ John Baptist recognized Jesus as Messiah; and was made sufficient thereby, perhaps, to dissolve whatever authority he possessed over Him and to send Him forth. And therefore, Jesus fulfilled the type of Elisha for one who thought along the lines of the history; just as He fulfilled the prophecy of the coming of Jehovah Himself for the student of Malachi. It is written:—

Now Elisha received a double portion of the spirit of Elijah—"that is, *the portion of the firstborn.*"² . . . Thus endowed he worked sundry miracles; and once he came to Gilgal when there was a dearth in the land; and he said unto *his servant*,³ Set on the great pot and seethe pottage for the sons of the prophets. And he⁴ went into the field to gather *herbs*,⁵ and he found a vine in the field, and gathered from it wild gourds his lap full, and came and shred them into the pot of pottage: for they knew them not. . . . And it came to pass, as they were eating of the pottage, that they cried out and said, O man of God, there is death in the pot. And they could not eat thereof. . . . And there came a man from Baalshalishah⁶ and brought the man of God bread of the firstfruits, twenty *loaves of barley*⁷ and *fresh ears of corn*⁸ in his sack. And [Elisha] said, *Give unto the people,*

¹ Of the accounts of this revelation St. John's is clearly superior to the rest.

² 2 Kings ii. 9 (R.V. margin: See Deut. xxi. 17).

³ τῷ παιδαρῷ αὐτοῦ.

⁴ LXX. omits אָהֵר of Hebrew.

⁵ LXX. ἀριώθ; Targum יִרְקָאִין. The Hebrew word אֲוִרוֹת occurs elsewhere only in Isa. xxvi. 19 (?) for *thy dew is as the dew of herbs* [? lights], where LXX. renders ἡ γὰρ δρόσος ἡ παρὰ σοῦ ἡμα αὐτοῖς ἐστίν (presumably making an illegitimate use of the following *Rephaim*.)

⁶ LXX. βαλθαρεῖσα.

⁷ Chrysostom says: ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης καὶ κριθίνους αὐτοὺς εἶναι λέγει οὐ παρέργως τοῦτο διηγούμενος, ἀλλὰ τὸν τύπον τῆς πολυτελείας παιδεύων ἡμᾶς καταπατεῖν. Τοιαύτη καὶ ἡ τῶν προφητῶν τράπεζα ἦν.

⁸ כֶּרֶמֶל: LXX. παλάθας (fruit-cakes): Targum פִּירוּכִין. For the rendering (R.V.) *fresh ears of corn*, compare Lev. ii. 14, גֶּרֶשׁ כֶּרֶמֶל, bruised corn of the fresh ear; LXX. χῆδρα ἐρικτά; Targum פִּרוּכִין רֵיכִין (χῆδρα is said to mean "unripe wheaten groats rubbed from the ear into the hand": L.-S. *sub voc.*): and Lev. xxiii. 14, "Ye shall eat neither bread nor parched corn nor *fresh ears* . . . until ye have brought the oblation of your God. Possibly this "statute" has some bearing upon the episode of the cornfields (Mark ii. 23 ff.). Elsewhere כֶּרֶם means *gardenland*.

that they may eat. And his servant said, *What, should I set this before an hundred men ?* But he said, *Give the people that they may eat ;* for thus saith the Lord, *They shall eat and shall leave thereof.* So he set it before them, and they did eat and left thereof, according to the word of the Lord.

Just before this incident Elisha had sent his servant Gehazi on a mission, as his apostle, with the direction : “ Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way ; if thou meet any man, *salute him not ;* and if any salute thee, answer him not again.”¹

I submit that Andrew’s antecedents, taken together with the circumstances, in which he found himself, were capable of suggesting to his mind this miracle of Elisha, as a clue to what Jesus was likely to do.² Further, I believe that the parallel accounts partially for the Synoptics’ transformation of the incident. The first Christian missionaries believed the Scripture and the *works*, no less than the *words*, of Jesus, which fulfilled it. Witnesses of the Resurrection did not need the miracles of Jesus to prove His Divinity. Their use was that they established not so much His superhuman power as His identity with the Christ, of whom Moses and the Prophets had spoken in divers sorts and in sundry manners.

But Jesus asked for faith, and did not supply indisputable demonstration of His claim to be Messiah. He was no God Manifest—*Deus Epiphanes*—as yet. His Godhead was not naked and visible to the vulgar eye.

Andrew was hungry : he and the other apostles were without provision.³ Jesus tested his followers with the question, “ Whence shall we buy bread that these may eat ? ” Philip answers according to his lights. Andrew looks round. There is much green-stuff in the place, a

¹ 2 Kings iv. 29. (Compare Luke x. 4.)

² 2 Kings iv. 38-44.

³ Mark vi. 31, οὐδὲ φαγεῖν εὐκαίρουν.

lad, barley loaves, apparent dearth—at any rate the sons of the prophets had no provision—and there is a Man of God. To use the green-stuff might be dangerous, as it was of old. Its use might be rebuked as an attempt to call forth an unnecessary and ineffectual act of power. But Elisha had fed an hundred men with twenty barley-loaves and fresh ears of corn. Andrew implies his hope and his faith in Jesus—and waits. From the sequel it appears that his hope was disappointed.

The crowds, who took broader and more general views, expect the Prophet to do the works of Moses, His proper and more conspicuous forerunner. And they express their expectation with less deference—indeed, they issue a peremptory and imperious challenge. It says:

They said therefore to him, And what sign dost *thou*, that we may see and believe thee ? What is *thy* work ? Our fathers did eat the manna in the wilderness ; as it is written, Bread from heaven he gave them to eat.¹

This subsequent challenge leaves no room for the supposed miracle ; and like Andrew's earlier suggestion, it is in effect a more subtle equivalent of the temptation, *If thou art the Son of God, command that these stones become bread.*

To all alike Jesus answers, “ *It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.* ”² The bread, which they took from Jesus' hands, symbolized also *Teaching* or *Torah*, according to the Rabbinic canon ; and His Bread or Teaching was unleavened in contrast with the leaven of the hypocritical Pharisees. There was and is a passover proper to the Christians.

CONCLUSION.

Though there be no miraculous multiplication of the loaves, the incident is not, therefore, devoid of significance.

¹ John vi. 30 f.

² Matt. iv. 4 (Deut. viii. 3).

According to the Marcan Tradition¹ Jesus referred to it and its companion later, and found that the disciples did not yet understand. He asked them questions, which seem designed to prompt them and to stimulate. But the record contains no clear indication of the meaning which He wished them to recognize. On the face of it our Lord seems to employ, or to recommend to them, the method of Gematria, which insists upon the significance of numbers.²

In reference to the Washing of the Disciples' Feet, *Jesus said to Peter, What I do, thou knowest not now ; but thou shalt know hereafter.*³ And afterwards He said, *Do ye know what I have done to you ?* And He explains.⁴

It is clear that our Lord used parables of action and appealed to His disciples by means of symbolism. To take another case—His miracles of healing implied and proclaimed His victory over Satan. The miracles made more impression, perhaps, upon the first disciples—even upon St. Peter.⁵ But the simple act of service, which lacked the element of what is accounted miracle,⁶ has a significance, which is less relative to the opinions of His contemporaries and their modes of thought. *He began to wash the feet of the disciples ; for the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.*

So this sign—the breaking and distribution of the bread—will not lose its force, if it is regarded as St. John and St. Peter seem to have regarded it. Though it be really no wonder, it is still a *sign*. It has its messages for the

¹ Mark viii. 14–20.

² Philo describes Moses as ἀεὶ τῆς ἀριθμητικῆς θεωρίας περιεχόμενος, ἣν ἀκριβῶς κατανεόηκεν ὅτι πλείστον ἐν τοῖς οὐσι δύναται (ii. p. 353 M).

³ John xiii. 7.

⁴ John xiii. 12 ff.

⁵ See, e.g., Acts x. 38.

⁶ Compare St. Paul's correction of the current estimation of *spiritual gifts*.

crowds and for the disciples also, as they grew in understanding.

The crowds, and all such as hoped for the Son of *David*, might remember that David once *dealt among all the people, even among the whole multitude of Israel, both to men and women, to every one a cake of bread and a portion of wine and a cake of raisins*. They might reflect that David did this at the time, when he was permitted to bring back the Ark of God to his own house.¹ Or they may have thought of another Scripture, which conveyed at once a warrant and a warning to the Zealots. It is written :

Abner said to the elders of Israel, Yesterday and the third day ye were seeking David to reign over you: now act, because Jehovah hath spoken concerning David, saying, By the hand of my servant David I will save Israel from the hand of the foreigners and from the hand of all their enemies. And David made a feast² for Abner and the men with him. And Abner said, I will arise and go and gather all Israel unto my lord the king, and I will make a covenant with Israel, and thou shalt reign over all that the soul desires. And David sent Abner away and they went in peace.³

But the disciples had obeyed the invitation *Come and see*. They had learned—however imperfectly—that Jesus could not be contained within any or all the categories and types, which they inherited from their fathers. To them, the breaking of bread and its distribution spoke with increasing clearness, not of a King who accepted the allegiance of warriors, but of a Teacher who fed His disciples and was in *Himself* the final Revelation of God. As yet He was not fully known to them. His baptism was not yet accomplished. But already the simple meal was a sacrament of communion. Jesus was host—the head of the family—and they received from Him, as He came in

¹ Sam. vi. 1-19.

² ἐποίησεν . . . πῶτον. The five thousand sat συμπόσια συμπόσια.

³ 2 Sam. iii. 17 ff.

and out over them, the bread which is the staff of physical and of spiritual life. Here a little, and there a little, the two Sacraments of Baptism and Communion were raised to a higher power, as the disciples learned more and more of their Teacher. And at the last, when their hopes were to be crushed and chastened for the last time, He washed their feet and broke bread with them once more.

And it was night. He died and was laid in the tomb. But on the third day He rose again from the dead. Risen, He showed Himself to be not only the Man whom they had known, but also, and now visibly, the Lord who walked the waves and fed every hungry soul. And so the Sacraments, by which Jesus had signified to His disciples the fact of their first adhesion to Him and the fact of their continual dependence upon Him, received a "new significance and fresh result," which raised them above the Baptisms and the Sacramental Meals of the Jews.

J. H. A. HART.

RECENT EXPOSITION OF ISAIAH LIII.

WHEN the Queen of Meroe's minister or agent was asked by the Deacon Philip whether he understood the portion of Isaiah which he was reading in his carriage, his answer was to the effect that the prophecy could not be understood without an authoritative commentary. The commentary provided by the Deacon, who found the application of the prophecy in quite recent events, cannot have been authoritative in the sense of being traditional; and as he did not commence by refuting some older exegesis that had till then held the field, we may conclude that there was no such exegesis current. From this conclusion another inference may be drawn. Either the author's application had been

lost, owing to breaks in the tradition whereby the book had been handed down—the collection of prophecies having emerged at some renaissance of Hebrew literature after a period of oblivion and obscurity—or else the theory of prophecy when the oracles were delivered was similar to that maintained by many spiritualists, who hold it possible for a human being to be the medium for the communication of literary matter of which even the language may be unfamiliar to him, and which he is therefore not expected to understand. If the journals devoted to psychical research could be trusted, this phenomenon is not merely well attested but even common, and is illustrated by whole volumes of automatic writing. Matter of this kind, when supposed to refer to the distant future (and this was certainly the prevalent supposition about Isaiah's oracles), might well be left uninterpreted till those events occurred which left no doubt about its application.

On the other hand, the earnestness and enthusiasm of the oracles give them the appearance of a force which must have had some effect on contemporary history, though its full capacity was revealed at a later age. Enigmatical to posterity, they may have been full of meaning to those who moved in the same environment as the Prophet, and whose minds were in sympathy with his. Their hopes and resentments, their experiences and aspirations, may have supplied ready solutions, where readers of later times look vainly for a key. No private letters nor official chronicles survive, which, by locating the oracles with certainty, would secure that the standpoint of the interpreter was correct. The community by whom they were preserved and cherished are thought by the majority of critics to have misdated them by a century and a half at the least, and to have forgotten their author's name.

An exception to this consensus is to be found in Dr. J. W. Thirtle, who, in a work called *Old Testament Problems*,¹ without excluding Philip's interpretation, identifies the "Servant of the Lord" with Hezekiah, and so assigns the oracles their traditional date. This is part of a general scheme by which the author would give that king an importance for the poetical books of the Bible to be compared with that which a Cambridge scholar recently tried to find for Murena in the Odes of Horace. Since no interpretation would be suggested which was absolutely devoid of plausibility, it may be admitted that with this application the clause (liii. 10) "He shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days" becomes highly significant.

That the "seed" in question turned out to be Manasseh, notorious for paganism and reaction, spoils the savour to some extent; yet if the verse stood alone, this would not be a reasonable objection. It stands, however, towards the end of a long and detailed description, no other sentence of which corresponds accurately with anything that is historically known of Hezekiah, so far as the meaning of the texts can be ascertained. This at least is the impression which will probably be conveyed to most minds by the juxtaposition of "the Writing and the Report" (the Ode of Hezekiah and Isaiah liii.) which is intended "to show to demonstration that the two documents relate to a common subject."

The claims of another Jewish king to be the original of "the Servant of the Lord" are urged by Professor D. Ernest Sellin, of Vienna, in two treatises.² This commentator had, in an earlier work, discovered the original in Zerubbabel; he claims, however, that this was a working

¹ Frowde, 1907.

² *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde. I. Der Knecht Gottes bei Deuterjesaia.* Leipzig, 1901.

hypothesis which proved its value in leading to the final solution of the problem, which is to be found in Jehoiachin, and seven years of continued study have not induced him to modify this opinion.¹ If such problems could be solved by patience and industry, his methods would have secured a final solution; but then such a solution would have been produced long ago.

Jehoiachin is by no means a prominent figure on the Israelitish stage. The compiler of the Books of Kings states that he "did evil in the sight of the Lord," put himself with his family and officers into the power of the king of Babylon, where he remained a prisoner for thirty-seven years, after which time he was released and given honourable treatment. Jeremiah prophesies that he will not prosper and will be childless (xxii. 30), details which do not appear to qualify him for identification with the Servant who is to deal prudently and see his seed. However, as the Arabic proverb says, "the eye of love hides every blemish," and Professor Sellin finds the correspondence between Jehoiachin and the subject of Isaiah liii. as close as Dr. Thirtle finds it between the latter and Hezekiah. The vicarious punishment undergone by the Servant is interpreted of the voluntary capitulation of Jehoiachin to prevent the captivity of the people: and the authority of Josephus is quoted to show that Jehoiachin's act bore this heroic character. Since in spite of it the nation suffered captivity, its vicarious character was momentary, and of no permanent importance. "Without its being expressly asserted," writes Dr. Sellin, "we can read between the lines of 2 Kings xxv. that Amel-Marduk [Evil-Merodach], who reinstated Jehoiachin among the kings, also gave him authority to re-establish his empire." By reading between the lines in this fashion we could produce some remarkable additions to our his-

¹ *Das Rätsel des deuteromesianischen Buches.* Leipzig, 1908.

torical knowledge. This particular addition would plainly contradict what is in the lines themselves, which state that Jehoiachin remained an honourable pensioner at the court of the Babylonian king all the days of his life, whence we must conclude that permission was not given him to return to Judaea, which would have been the necessary preliminary for any attempt to re-establish his kingdom.

If there were any evidence in support of this conjecture, it would not be difficult to adduce some striking analogies to the erection of such a fabric of hopes and expectations on the person of a prisoner. Among the romances of history is the foundation of the Fatimide empire, for some centuries supreme in Egypt, North Africa, and Syria, by the champion of an obscure and little known *Mahdi*, which is the Arabic equivalent of Messiah. If the Second Isaiah was not merely a dreamer of dreams, but a man of action and definite purpose, some light might be thrown on his career by that of Abu Abdallah the Shi'ite, the champion to whom reference is made. In the capacity of reading-master he betakes himself to a north African community, where he takes such opportunities as occur to win adherents to the rightful sovereign, living in concealment far away: doubtless by stirring harangues, which have perished, whereas those of the Second Isaiah remain. Presently he is strong enough to resort to the argument of the sword, and at the end of eight years is the head of a warlike state, and can send to his Mahdi, bidding him come and assume his sovereignty. The Mahdi accepts the invitation and comes disguised, but is captured and imprisoned in north Africa before he can reach the subjects who are awaiting his arrival; for three years he pines in confinement before his champion can conquer his oppressors and obtain his release. The malicious assert that he was slain in prison, and that when the prison was opened and no Mahdi found there, Abu Abdallah made

the first prisoner he could lay hands on impersonate him : whether this was so or not, the person warranted by Abu Abdallah received the enthusiastic allegiance of the army which through all these years had been preparing the way for their sovereign. The Mahdi's first task almost immediately after accession was to rid himself by assassination of the champion to whom he owed his throne.

"It cannot be a matter of doubt," Dr. Sellin continues, "that the account of the Servant of the Lord is a rough representation of the life of Jehoiachin, and that it certainly suits no one else, Davidide or non-Davidide, so far as our historical knowledge goes." Even if we were to grant the accuracy of the first part of this sentence, the concession with which it ends would spoil the result. Supposing that the Prophet's hopes were never fulfilled—and this was surely *ex hypothesi* the case—the world would be unlikely to know on whom they had been based. The miracle which he foresees and which will amaze the world is the glorious resurrection of one who is despised and neglected, from whom men turn away their faces, and (a detail which is sufficient to refute both the Hezekiah and Jehoiachin identifications) whose birth is obscure. What chance have such persons of getting into history at all? Little, unless the prophecies about them are fulfilled. Had not the champion of the Fatimide Mahdi succeeded, it is unlikely that his name would have been recorded anywhere, although the degree of obscurity implied in Isaiah liii. scarcely attached to him.

Some of the inconsistency of the details with what is known of Jehoiachin's career is smoothed down by Dr. Sellin with the observation that the Second Isaiah writes poetry, not prose. This, though it may veil the inappropriateness of the verses, does not get rid of it. For the principle of exegesis which dissolves one criterion of identification will dissolve others.

Vastly different from either of these is the interpretation given the passage by H. Gressmann, of Kiel University, in a treatise on the Origin of Judaeo-Israelitish Eschatology, bearing date 1905. This writer starts by calling attention to the emphasis which the Prophet lays on the vicarious character of the suffering of the Servant. "The sacrificial idea is clearly expressed in liii. 10: *If his soul (i.e. he himself) shall have accomplished the guilt-offering, he will see seed.* The suffering and death of the Servant constitute an expiatory sacrifice combined with compensation. Although represented as a human scapegoat, he is characteristically distinguished from an ordinary sacrifice by the fact that he is not offered by others, but offers himself (liii. 10). Those who have seen the sacrifice and for whose benefit it is are quite unaware that a sacrifice is going on. They regard the Servant as a man marked out by God, treat him as a leper, and bury him as a felon. Only afterwards do they recognize his innocence, and understand that his act has been a voluntary sacrificial ceremony. The death of the Servant is nothing more nor less than a mystic sacrifice only understood by the initiate, misunderstood by every one else."

It will be understood that the interpretation is made to depend largely on liii. 10, as emended by Giesebrecht.¹ The conclusion is that the chapter is in origin "a hymn belonging to the Mysteries, sung by the Mystae on the death-day of the god." "The mythical form which originally lay at the basis of the idea of the Servant must have been one in which an expiatory death and resurrection are characteristic. Though we cannot actually name this figure, it must belong to the cycle of Adonis or Tammuz myths."

A little consideration shows that Adonis suits the recorded

¹ תָּשִׁים for תֹּאשֵׁם

traits of the Servant far worse than either Hezekiah or Jehoiachin. The name Adonis is proverbial for beauty; and we are told that the Servant had no form nor comeliness. His exciting desire is part of the myth about him: and we are expressly told that the Servant excited none, but aversion. Nor does the death of Adonis as described in the myth bear the least resemblance to the leading of a lamb to the slaughter; and his burial appears to have been accompanied with pomp. There is, further, no evidence adduced to show that the death of Adonis was expiatory; and none to show that in any mystic homily it was ever so interpreted. Had we any such mystic homilies (supposing them to have ever been delivered), it is probable that they would have contained the secret since discovered by Frazer, that the death of Adonis is typical of the death of the corn. Seeing, then, that the identification of the Servant with Adonis does little to help the understanding of the chapter, it is of some consolation to be told that "it is of no interest to us to know what the Second Isaiah may have thought about the details, since his interpretation does not make even the smallest contribution to the understanding of the chapter" either. If we are puzzled, the case of the author (according to Dr. Gressmann) was no better. Yet it may be doubted whether the Second Isaiah would have received with gratitude the information that he was reproducing a hymn to Adonis.

Whilst these new solutions of the problem are being propounded, works are also being issued defending either the popular interpretation, according to which the Servant is to be understood not of an individual but of a community, or the idea which found its most permanent embodiment in Philip's application, according to which the Servant was a future Messiah. This last is the view

maintained in the recent work¹ of Dr. Franz Feldmann, which gives a more intelligible summary of earlier literature than is to be found elsewhere. This writer endeavours to build up his thesis with great care, making sure of each layer, if only certainty in these matters were not so decidedly subjective. More than a third of his space is taken up with refutation of the view which identifies the Servant with Israel, in whole or in part, and which is still probably supported by the most eminent names in Old Testament criticism. The objections urged against this view appear to be exceedingly strong, since the doctrine that Israel's exile was to expiate the sins of the Gentiles appears to be wholly unbiblical, whilst the pious part cannot be said with justice to have suffered *for*, but only *with* the rest. To apply the picture of uncomplaining innocence, which Isaiah liii. offers, to Israel in general would be to do violence to the prophetic view of the national history, according to which Israel was neither innocent nor uncomplaining: but where the punishment overtook all alike, one portion cannot be said to have borne it for the rest. Even the supposition that the persons who speak in Isaiah liii. may have distorted the details seems to be excluded by the difficulty of distributing the parts between the spectators, the prophet, and God.

The positive part of this treatise is intended to re-establish the view which so long prevailed in Christendom of the Messianic signification of these oracles, and to answer objections. If it should meet with acceptance, criticism would come round to the point from which it started, Philip's interpretation turning out to have been right after all. The tons of printed matter which this problem has evoked will not in that case have produced any permanent result. But it is only archaeological discovery from which

¹ *Der Knecht Gottes in Isaias Kap. 40-55.* Freiburg in Breisgau, 1907.

the ultimate confirmation of any hypothesis can be hoped. The recovery of documents appertaining to the environment of the "Second Isaiah" would tell the dwellers in the Cave whether their reconstructions of the realities from the shadow had been correct.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

JOHN THE BAPTIST AND HIS MESSAGE.

THE Evangelists are concerned wholly with the life of Jesus, and the ministry of John the Baptist is of little interest to them, except in its relation to the greater work which was to follow. We may therefore infer that their portrait of John is so coloured as to do him at once more and less than justice. On the one hand his affinities with Jesus are unduly emphasized. All other features in his work are thrown into the background, and he stands before us in his most exalted capacity as the witness to the Light. On the other hand, his appearance is viewed as a mere passing episode. An impression is left on our minds that his mission had no separate value or result, and was immediately merged in that of his Successor.

It is evident, however, from various indications in the New Testament itself, that John was not simply a forerunner of Jesus, but was an independent teacher, with a message and a programme of his own. When he was thrown into prison his disciples continued his work, apparently unconscious that it had now been superseded. Long after his death we find traces of a community which looked back upon him as its founder, and which was never wholly absorbed into the Christian Church. In order to understand his true relation to Jesus, we require in the first instance to study him by himself, forgetting as far as possible the greater events to which his ministry was the prelude.

Our only materials for such a study (apart from a debated passage in Josephus ¹) are given us by the Gospel writers ; but from a careful analysis of their notices—scanty as they are and influenced by Christian tradition—we can make out at least something of his real significance.

The central idea of John's mission was undoubtedly embodied in the solemn rite with which his name was from the first associated. "John did baptize in the wilderness and proclaim the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins" (Mark i. 4). The rite of baptism did not by any means originate with John. Apart from numerous parallels in heathen religions, we find analogies to it in contemporary Jewish custom ; e.g., in the lustrations enjoined by the Mosaic law, the daily washings of the Essenes, the ceremonial which accompanied the admission of proselytes.² These precedents may all have had their influence on John ; but the immediate suggestion of the rite was probably given him by the verse of prophecy : "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness" (Zech. xiii. 1). The prophecy in which these words occur bears definitely on the events preceding the Messianic age. It suggested to our Lord the symbolic act by which He declared His Messiahship (Zech. ix. 9=Matt. xxi. 4, 5), and may in like manner have marked out a line of action to His predecessor. A reference of this kind would seem to be implied in the words of the Evangelist quoted above. John "proclaimed the baptism for the remission of sins"—announced that the fountain of cleansing, foretold by the prophet, was at last opened.

It is more than probable that John ascribed a real validity

¹ Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 5, 2.

² Cf. the admirable discussion in Lambert's *Sacraments in the New Testament*, p. 55 f.

to his baptism.¹ He no doubt sought, in the first instance, to effect a moral change, and only administered the rite to those who professed repentance ; but the inward process required to be completed and sealed by the outward act. That some mysterious efficacy of this nature was assigned to John's baptism may be gathered from the question with which our Lord, at a later time, silenced the Pharisees (Mark xi. 30=Matt. xxi. 25). The question refers to the "baptism," not merely to the religious teaching, of John. It had been offered as a real means of grace ; and hence the controversy had arisen as to John's divine commission.

The object of the baptism was to ensure, for those who accepted it, a "remission of sins," in view of the near approach of the Kingdom of God. Before the inauguration of the Kingdom there would be a time of judgment, in which the wicked would be destroyed, while the righteous would be sifted out to form the elect community of the new age. Those who attested their repentance by baptism had a guarantee that they would pass unscathed through the approaching hour of trial. The Messiah, who was to execute judgment as God's representative, would know them for his people. He would grant them that baptism of the Spirit, of which the earthly baptism was the type or anticipation, and thus seal them as members of the kingdom.

The Evangelists afford us a brief summary of the preaching by which John urged the people to avail themselves of the proffered rite of baptism. In the light of this summary and of the subsequent references to John's mission, we are able to form some conjecture as to his relation (a) to Apocalyptic theory, (b) to the popular Messianic movement,

¹ Cf. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 283, and *Religion des Judenthums*, p. 529.

(c) to the official religion, (d) to the prophetic tradition. His significance with regard to Jesus will become clearer when we have considered his activity under these four aspects.

(a) In his view of the coming age John followed the traditional lines of Apocalyptic speculation. He expected a time of wrath in which the present order of the world would be destroyed—a judgment of the righteous and the wicked—a Messiah who would be invested with divine powers. It has been maintained by some recent scholars¹ that the characteristic work of John was his popularizing of these apocalyptic ideas. He brought into the marketplace what had hitherto been matter of literary and esoteric interest. But we have no ground for believing that the apocalyptic hopes were not shared by the people generally. The excitement produced by John's message would seem itself to indicate that he had an audience in sympathy with him. He appealed to hopes and fears which were familiar to all, and declared that they would presently be realized. In any case we misunderstand the work of John when we try to find its chief significance in his apocalyptic teaching.² It does not appear that he introduced any new conception of the judgment, or the kingdom, or the office of the Messiah; the speculative questions which bulk so largely in the apocalyptic writings were probably of little interest to him. His concern was with the *preparation* for the Kingdom of God. Assuming the traditional hope, in its simplest and most general form, he employed it as a basis and a dynamic for the practical appeal which he addressed to men in the present.

(b) The success of John's mission lends colour to the suggestion that it bore a national and political, as well

¹ E.g. Titius, in his *Neutestamentliche Lehre von der Seligkeit*, I.

² As is done by Schweitzer and other recent writers.

as a religious character. It is noteworthy that the memory of John was cherished as that of a popular hero (Matt. xxi. 26), and we have the testimony of Josephus that Herod threw him into prison "lest his influence with the people might lead to some revolt." This, we have good grounds for believing, was Herod's true motive, even though a more personal motive may have blended with it. That John was indeed regarded by many as a possible revolutionary leader is more than likely. When we remember how even the message of Jesus was construed in a political sense, we cannot doubt that Zealots and agitators would recognize in John a kindred spirit with themselves. His appeal was to excited multitudes. His strange outward appearance, his vehement speech and prophecies of approaching doom, were in full keeping with the mood of patriotic fanaticism. But it appears certain that John himself had no thought of a political movement. He looked for a kingdom which would break in suddenly, apart from human co-operation. He counselled his followers to continue quietly in their vocations, and offered this counsel even to the publicans, who were the direct instruments of the Roman tyranny. As a Jew he may have expected the kingdom to take the form of a restored Jewish theocracy; this is by no means precluded by his disparaging reference to the "children of Abraham." But the judgment, as he conceived it, was to turn on an ethical test, applied to each man individually; in other words, the interest of God was not in Israel as a nation but in righteousness. This conception was in its essence a protest against the current agitation.

(c) It is assumed by the Evangelists that John found himself in open conflict with the scribes and Pharisees, the representatives of the official religion; but this is probably due to the adumbration of the life of Jesus in

that of John. When we compare the accounts of Matthew and Luke, we discover that the fierce denunciation of "the Pharisees" was in reality addressed to the whole people. It is indeed probable that the official leaders stood aloof from John and regarded him with suspicion (cf. Luke vii. 29, 30; Mark xi. 27 f.). They could have had little sympathy with a movement that was popular in its character, and calculated to awaken excitement. They might feel, too, that the claims of the Law were endangered by John's call for a moral repentance. But that John never took up an attitude of antagonism to the official religion may be inferred from the terms of eulogy in which he is mentioned by the Pharisee Josephus; as also from the notice in Justin, which includes his community among the orthodox Jewish sects.¹ In the Gospel narrative itself, "the disciples of John and of the Pharisees" are classed together as performing many fasts (Luke v. 33), from which it would appear that John acquiesced in the general scheme of the religious life as laid down by the Pharisees. We have no evidence that he ever contemplated a breach with the orthodox religion, or that there was anything in his message to draw down upon him that enmity of the Pharisees, which was instinctively directed against Jesus from the first. This fact alone is enough to mark the radical difference between the two teachers. It was only in an external and formal sense that Jesus took up and continued the work of John.

(d) For the characteristic element in John's activity we must turn to his relation to Old Testament prophetism. Centuries had passed since the Psalmist lamented that the prophetic spirit had become extinct (Ps. lxxiv. 9). Religion had identified itself wholly with law and ritual; when all at once, amidst the schools of the rabbis and the

¹ Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 80.

"orders" of hereditary priests, there rose up a prophet with a message direct from God.¹

It is evident that John deliberately set himself to fulfil the rôle of a prophet. He adopted the "hairy mantle" which was the traditional prophetic garb. He emerged, like Elijah or Amos, from the wilderness. He expressed himself in abrupt language and fiery imagery, modelled on the recorded utterances of the prophets. His whole action and bearing were meant to suggest that idea of him which the people immediately formed. "What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A prophet."

We cannot but acknowledge that in this enterprise of John there was something derivative and artificial. A revival of prophetism, in the strict sense, was impossible. Under the changed historical conditions, when the nation had no independent life of which he could make himself the organ, there was no longer a place for the prophet; and already, by a natural development, prophecy had passed into Apocalyptic. So far as he intended literally to restore it, the effort of John must be classed with Rienzi's attempt to re-establish the tribunate, with the various "revivals" in art and literature, which correspond with no living reality. Jesus Himself, with His sure instinct, avoided the methods of His predecessor and "came eating and drinking." But although he sought to embody them in forms now obsolete, John had truly grasped the vital ideas of ancient prophecy. He brought back into the religious life of Judaism the conception of a living God, who spoke and worked in the present. He insisted once more on the supremacy of the moral law, and on the need for practical repentance. He taught men to realize that God reveals Himself through personalities, not through bodies of tradition and priestly systems.

¹ Luke's account of John's nativity may be partly explained as a symbolic presentation of this idea.

It was this reversion to the teaching of the prophets which constituted the peculiar achievement of John, in virtue of which he was the forerunner of Jesus. In his message of the kingdom, and even in his intense conviction of its imminence, there was nothing new. He only expressed more powerfully what all men were thinking and feeling. But believing that the kingdom was at hand, he asked himself what was necessary that men should be prepared for it, and found his answer in the teaching of the prophets. He "came in the way of righteousness" (Matt. xxi. 32), declared that the judgment would turn on righteousness and not on legal conformity or Jewish descent. The apocalyptic hope was thus brought into relation with the purely ethical demand, and the way was prepared for our Lord's Gospel of the Kingdom of God.

The question now arises as to whether the work of John was in some more definite sense a Messianic preparation. His message of the approaching kingdom was certainly combined with a reference to the Messiah; but it was the kingdom, not the Messiah, that was paramount in his thought. The Messiah as he conceived Him was simply the instrument by which God would execute judgment and inaugurate the new age. We can have little difficulty in tracing the influence of later Christian reflection in the account of John's recognition of Jesus at the moment of His baptism. Such a tremendous pronouncement could not have failed to concentrate on Jesus an awe and expectation of which we hear nothing in the subsequent narrative. The sending of the embassy—generally taken as evidence that John's faith was wavering under stress of disappointment—can be far more intelligibly explained in a directly opposite sense. As he heard of the mighty works done by Jesus, a wild surmise had arisen in John's mind that the kingdom might now be dawning. This new and greater

Messenger, if not himself the Christ, might be the herald of His coming.

The real interest centres, not on a recognition of Jesus by John, but on the significance attached to John by Jesus. John came forward as a prophet, sent by God to announce judgment and call the people to repentance, like his prototypes in the Old Testament. He did not, however, claim to be Elijah, who, according to the current eschatology, was to appear at the beginning of the great closing drama. The Fourth Gospel tells us that he expressly denied that he was Elijah; but more probably it never even occurred to him that such a claim was possible. He conceived of the whole cycle of final events as still in the future, and could not regard *himself* as one of the principal eschatological figures. It was Jesus who identified John with the promised Elijah. He imparted this knowledge to His disciples as something new and secret (Matt. xvii. 12, xi. 14), suggesting at the same time that "those who had ears to hear" would understand its far-reaching implications. Elijah had come already; who could He Himself be but the Christ?

In the life of Jesus, therefore, John the Baptist had a significance which cannot be wholly accounted for by his own personality or message. Unawares to himself he helped the coming of that Messiah whom he had foretold. In what manner our Lord arrived at the full conviction of His great calling we can only discern in glimpses; but there can be little doubt that His own inward sense of Messiahship was illuminated and strengthened by His thought of John. As he reflected on this prophet who had gone before Him, He knew that God's purposes had reached fulfilment and that He Himself was "He that should come."

E. F. SCOTT.

CORINTH AND THE TRAGEDY OF ST. PAUL.

Beside that which cometh on me daily, the care of all the Churches.

IN regard to the single church to which St. Paul wrote these significant words we have a great deal to learn from the Epistles of which we get no inkling from Acts. Luke's narrative, in spite of its immense value, reveals strange lacunae. We must add to it startling catalogues of events like that found towards the end of 2 Corinthians xi., and we have to spell out letter by letter further events and aspects of events, reading between the lines of the Epistles themselves. There must always be a margin of uncertainty in such processes of divination, and yet a great deal has been achieved. Might it not further be found that a definite hypothesis—a construction of the history, stage by stage, as it *may* have happened—would be more helpful than the system of leaving events vague for lack of evidence in detail? We are to study here the history of Paul's relations with Corinth during his Ephesian ministry. And we may hope by conjectures—not *mere* conjectures in the sense of being arbitrary, for they are suggested by the evidence; still, by conjectures—to carry the process of interpretation one step or two steps further on.

It was natural that study of the Epistles to Corinth should begin, and should long persevere, with an attempt to connect them closely. They cannot, at the utmost, be separated by any great space of time. In Acts we read (xix. 22) of St. Paul's sending Timothy into Macedonia shortly before his own departure from Ephesus; in 1 Corinthians we hear of Timothy as *en route* for Corinth (iv. 17, xvi. 10); and 2 Corinthians is despatched from some point in Macedonia, when Paul and Timothy are together (i. 1, ii. 13; viii. 1,

etc.). The whole thing seems clear. Timothy has been detained by the service of some of the Macedonian Churches. Paul has joined him. They are going on together to Corinth.¹ But, when we read more closely, we find that this simple construction of events will not do. We cannot help seeing the difficulties; they have been so carefully worked out for us, even when they are not of the class which "leap to light," as some of them are.

Let us note the changes seen when we look back from 2 Corinthians to 1 Corinthians. (1) To take a simple external point first—Timothy has disappeared, and Titus takes his place. When 1 Corinthians was written, Timothy was to be expected by the church, to be welcomed, to be deferred to (xvi. 10). When 2 Corinthians is written, Titus has been at Corinth upon a memorable if painful mission (vii. 6, etc.), and is to return there once more (viii. 6, 16, ix. 5), while Timothy simply appears as joining in the Apostle's salutation at the opening of the letter. (2) When 1 Corinthians is written, Paul intends to travel from Ephesus to Corinth by the land or short sea route, "through Macedonia" (xvi. 5). When 2 Corinthians is written, he has to defend himself against charges of fickleness because he has taken that route and has *not* taken the direct sea passage, nor kept a promise of paying them two visits—one on his way to Macedonia, and one on his way from Macedonia to Jerusalem (i. 15-23). *He had meantime formed a new plan, told them of it, and then again set it aside.* (3) The tone of the letter is as different as possible. 1 Corinthians is the calmest and most orderly of all the Pauline writings. It deals with a series of topics, largely as suggested in a letter to Paul from the Corinthian Church (vii. 1). Each topic is treated in turn, settled, and left

¹ Romans xvi. 21 shows us Timothy at Corinth during this, the last recorded visit of St. Paul. Place and date of Romans are tolerably certain (xv. 25, 26).

behind. There are troubles and dangers at Corinth, but Paul's tone throughout is that of one whose mind is at peace and who is sure of the loyalty of the Church. How different is 2 Corinthians! To speak flippantly, one might say that it is written in a towering passion. It contains invective, sarcasm, even sneers; but, more than all, it reveals a noble and passionate disturbance of soul—"yea what indignation, yea what fear, yea what longing, yea what zeal, yea what avenging!" There is little or no plan in the Epistle; it rushes on like a cataract; its intensity bewilders the modern reader ill acquainted with the "old, unhappy, far-off things" which gave it birth. And we may add that the Judaizing party, half visible in 1 Corinthians (i. 12, "I am of Cephas," and perhaps "I am of Christ") has grown manifest, rancorous, an extreme and deadly danger, by the time 2 Corinthians is written. (4) Paul in 1 Corinthians is pressing strongly for the most tremendous of sentences upon a Christian guilty of incest (v. 1-5), though he does not falter in his hope of the man's ultimate salvation. Paul in 2 Corinthians is eagerly accepting some limited penalty, and crowning it with the fullest expressions of his own forgiveness. Now, so far as we have gone, we have simply stated facts—bare facts, lying on the surface of the documents, not to be evaded unless by eccentric and hardly credible critical combinations. The traditional view, which we are contemplating, has no such combination at its service. May we not claim then that a great deal has happened between 1 and 2 Corinthians? That the old situation has disappeared and that a new and even more painful world has for a time occupied its place?

We pass on next to positions into which the element of conjecture begins to enter, at least in the judgment of some; there are conservative thinkers who will allow none of them. (5) Yet the first of the positions still to be mentioned is

hardly disputable. It is granted us by some who advance no further with us, but break off here. And it is of vital importance. *The sin which Paul forgives in 2 Corinthians is not the sin which he visited with spiritual and supernatural terrors in 1 Corinthians.* The earlier difficulty has passed out of sight. A new difficulty¹ occupies its place, in the shape of a direct rebellion against St. Paul's authority, uttering itself in insult and slander. We must keep in view, in studying this situation, not merely vii. 12, but ii. 5, seq. "He hath caused sorrow *not to me*"! Who but the person directly and immediately wronged could fitly use that tone? But indeed does not vii. 12 teach the same lesson? "I wrote not *for His cause that suffered the wrong*"! If "he" was St. Paul himself, the assurance is finely magnanimous; if "he" was Timothy, or some unknown wrangling Corinthian, it was less admirable, and surely also less wise. It might blister instead of soothing. It might rekindle rather than quench the strife. And when St. Paul tells us he wrote in order that "their earnest care for him might be made manifest to themselves in the sight of God," he says nothing inconsistent with these disclaimers. It was not mainly as a wrong to himself, but as a fault of his spiritual children, that the thing tormented his heart—a fault more tolerable, yet from another aspect all the more distressing, because it did not represent their deliberate choice. They misunderstood themselves; they had been so skilfully played upon by enemies. But of this, later.

(6) There was an intermediate visit to Corinth, a brief visit paid by St. Paul from Ephesus. Before he wrote 2 Corinthians xii. 14 and xiii. 1 he had been with the Corinthians twice—once when he founded the church, and upon one other, briefer, sadder occasion. This, we must take

¹ Incidentally it is a relief not to have to infer that the great Apostle is discreetly backing down.

leave to say, ought never to have been denied ; not by Paley, still less by the distinguished modern writers who have tried to revive his view. The only question that may seem at all open for discussion, is, when the visit took place ? Surely from Ephesus, and after 1 Corinthians had been written ! The chief rival opinion (Lightfoot, Sanday, and others) places it before 1 Corinthians ; but the objections to this seem insuperable. 1 Corinthians nowhere speaks of two visits. The *tone*, to which we referred above, is quite different from what it shows itself when the epoch of $\lambdaύπη$ (2 Cor. ii. 1) begins. Nor, if 1 Corinthians had intervened, would it be seemly of St. Paul to cast up old scores against the Corinthians, telling them, *à propos* to a new trouble, that he could not bear to go through "that sort of thing" once more. Wisdom, tact, magnanimity, would all be lacking to such an utterance. I verily believe it would be more plausible ¹ to put the visit (and chapters x.-xiii. of 2 Cor.) later than Ephesus, throwing them into Paul's Macedonian sojourn. But on that view we should not merely have to suppose that the cause of St. Paul suffered a set back ; we should have to infer that history repeated itself within a month or two in exactly the same phases. With this also, however, i.e., with the relations between 2 Corinthians i.-ix. and 2 Corinthians x.-xiii., we must deal later on. Here one can only repeat that the "intermediate" visit (for which 2 Corinthians xii. 14 and xiii. 1 vouch) *was*, in all probability, intermediate. If we reflect that, before the composition of 1 Corinthians, Apollos and the slaves of Chloe and the party containing Stephanas Fortunatus and Achaicus had all ² appeared at

¹ With Drescher and some others.

² Probably three parties. A minimum of two, even if we identify Stephanas, etc. (xvi. 17) with those of the household of Chloe (i. 11) ; Apollos was at Ephesus before the Corinthian Church's letter arrived ; apparently it begged (xvi. 12) for his return. A maximum of four parties, if we suppose that the Church's letter was carried by still another embassy

Ephesus during St. Paul's stay there, if we think of the travels of Timothy, Titus and unknown "brethren," revealed to us by scattered notices in the Epistles, there will be nothing strange in the inference that St. Paul, upon some emergency, crossed the Ægean to Corinth and soon returned. At whatever time we date the visit, it is one of St. Luke's "silences," and really these silences are too numerous to constitute any ground for reviving the doubt whether the visit ever took place. It stands fast. It must be worked into our scheme of events.

(7) We have to recognize not only an intermediate visit, but an intermediate letter. If the argument so far has been decisive, there should be no difficulty at this point. As the references of 2 Corinthians do not suit the troubles of 1 Corinthians, so also they do not suit its emotional tone. Not that we are drawing an inference here from former results. On the contrary, former results do nothing to force upon us this fact of an intermediate letter. It is a fresh though similar inference from the language of 2 Corinthians. We are studying one evolving course of history, one many-sided change in the relations between Paul and the Corinthian church. Dr. Sanday¹ thinks the argument is worse off at this point because the New Testament text speaks of three visits to Corinth and does not speak of three (or more) Epistles. Yet surely the New Testament bears no faltering witness, if indirectly. The question is, whether 1 Corinthians was written "out of much affliction and anguish of heart, with many tears" (2 Cor. ii. 4), though it reads so calmly; or whether a different letter had come into being, caused by the troubles whose after-swell heaves through all the brightest pages of 2 Corinthians, and whether this middle letter

But most probably it was carried by Stephanas, etc., and the parties numbered three.

¹ *Encyclopedia Biblica*.

did not correspond more fully to St. Paul's description. Is the issue really doubtful? ¹

(8) Perhaps there is a less approach to certainty in the remaining point. Or at the least we must make plain to ourselves that it is a new issue, and that friends may refuse their sympathy now who have given it in full hitherto. It is one thing to say that Paul wrote an intermediate letter; it is another thing to say that we have the good fortune to possess it, or part of it, in 2 Corinthians x. 1-xiii. 10.² Bousset, in his brief and popular but characteristically brilliant commentary on Corinthians,³ while believing in the changed situation, in the intermediate visit, in the intermediate letter, does not hold with Hausrath and his many disciples to the theory of the "vier-Capitel Brief."

What I hope to do after this introductory outline is first to reconsider the usually accepted view of the nature of the intermediate visit, point (6), offering some conjectures as to the possible course of events; and secondly, with similar use of conjecture, to deal with point (8)—Is the intermediate letter (which I shall assume to have existed) to be found, whether in full or in part, at the end of our 2 Corinthians?

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

¹ Granting an intermediate visit and letter, the former came first: (6) is correctly taken before (7); see 2 Cor. ii. 1-4. (Drescher, who arranges differently, has to interpret ii. 1 violently.)

² There seems no doubt that we ought to draw the line at xiii. 10, but for brevity I have generally allowed myself to speak of the passage as 2 Cor. x.-xiii. Into the less important and less likely proposal to make a separate letter of chap. ix. I do not enter.

³ *Schriften des N.T. für die Gegenwart*, ed. J. Weiss.

LEXICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.¹

VII.

ἄνωθεν.—In PP III. 43 (iv) *ἄνωθεν* is found in opposition to *κάτω*: *hiat contextus*. HbP 110⁶⁵ (c. 255 B.C. records of postal service) ὥρας πρώτης παρέδωκεν Θεύχρηστus ἄνωθεν Δινίαι κυ(λιστοὺς) γ, “1st hour, Theochrestus delivered to Dinias 3 rolls from the upper country” (G. and H.). Ἄνωθεν appears again twice in this document, and *κάτοθεν* “from the lower country.” (This is a very early example of the approximation] of *ο* and *ω*, on which see *Proleg.*² 244, and 35 f.). In TbP 59 (99 B.C.) ἦν ἔχετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἄνωθεν πατρικὴν φιλίαν, and διὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν φοβεῖσθαι καὶ σέβεσθαι τὸ ἱερόν: G. and H. tr. “of old.” OP 237^{viii.31} (ii/A.D.) ὅπερ οὐ καλῶς ἐνδέχεται εἰ μὴ ἄνωθεν γένοιτο ἀντίγραφα, “this cannot be done adequately unless copies are made from the beginning” (G. and H.). OP 718²¹ (ii/A.D.) ἔτι δὲ ἄνωθ[ε]ν τῶν δημοσίων ἀποδιδομένων, “and although the imposts have for years been paid,” OP 745 (c. 1 A.D.) μ[ὴ . . . ?]να ἄνωθεν γείνηται πάντα καὶ πάλιν κ.τ.λ. (as above under *ἀνασκευάζω*). The sense of the last perfect participle can only be vaguely guessed, but “completely, from the beginning,” may well be the sense of *ἄνωθεν*. Other examples of the word are CPR 1¹⁹ (i/A.D.) καθὼς ἄνωθεν εἴθιστο, BU 1074² (iii/A.D.) τοῖς ἄνωθεν προγόνοις, TbP 298⁶¹ (107 A.D.) ἀκολουθῶς τῇ ἀν[ωθ]εν συνθηείᾳ. The usage of the inscriptions follows on similar lines. Dittenberger (in Index to *Syll.*) enumerates three meanings, (1) *de superno* 537⁶³ ἐπεργάσεται ὀρθὸν καὶ ὁμαλὲς ἄνωθεν, (2) *antiquitus* 929⁸¹ νόμοις γὰρ ἱεροῖς . . . ἄνωθεν διεκεκώλυτο ἵνα μηθεὶς κ.τ.λ., (3) *denovo* 732¹¹ γεννηθεὶς δὲ καὶ παραίτιος τῆς

¹ For abbreviations see the February and March *EXPOSITOR*, pp. 170, 262.

ἀνωθεν συλλογῆς, a decree of i/B.C. referring to the revival of certain sacred practices which had ceased for some time.

ἀνωφελής.—BM III. p. 133³¹ (ii/A.D.) ὅπως εἶδῃ ἄκυρον καὶ ἀνωφελὲς κριθησόμενον ὃ μετέδωκεν ὑπόμνημα. In the same document we have κενῶς καὶ [ἀ]νωφελῶς.

ἄξιος.—For the absolute use of ἄξιος see PP II. 15 (iii/B.C.) ἄξιος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν χρείαι[. . . The sense of “worth,” “value,” is illustrated by P Lille 6 (iii/A.D.) where a certain Petesuchos complains that robbers ἐξέδυσαν χιτῶνα ἄξιον ١ ٥ “a tunic worth six drachmas.”

The verb is very common in legal documents=“claim,” e.g. OP 237^{vi.14} (ii/A.D.) ἀξιῶν τότε ἃ προσήνεγκα αὐτῇ ἀνακομίσασθαι “claiming to recover what I had made over to her.” It also frequently occurs in the weakened sense “request,” “ask,” as in Par P 49 (ii/B.C.,=Witk. 46) τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ σου συμπεσόντος μοι . . . καὶ ἀξιῶσαντός με. EP 19¹⁸ (iii/B.C.) ἀξιῶ σε ἀνακαλέσασθαι Μίλωνα.

For ἀξίως with gen. as in Phil. i. 27, etc., see the evidence from the inscriptions in *Thess.* 26, and Deissmann *BS* 248. So PP II. 13 (iii/B.C.,=Witk. 16) σοῦ προστατῆσαι τὸν ἐπιλοιπὸν βίον, ἀξίως μὲν σοῦ, ἀξίως δ' ἐμοῦ.

ἀπαγγέλλω.—The verb=“report,” “announce” (cf. Mark vi. 30) is found in BM I. p. 30 (ii/B.C.,=Witk. 40) Ὁρου τοῦ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν παρακεκομικότος ἀπηγγελκότος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπολεύσθαι σε κ.τ.λ. So TbP 297⁷ (ii/A.D.) ἀπήγγ[ει]λεν τὴν τάξιν ὡς ὀφείλουσαν πραθῆναι, “reported that the office ought to be sold.” In the interesting proceedings before Marcus Aurelius already referred to (OP 33), it seems almost to have the legal sense of “appeal,” as when Appianus exclaims: ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμαντοῦ εὐγενείας . . . ἀπαγγέλλω “I appeal on behalf of my nobility.”

ἀπάγω.—The verb is found four times in the document just cited: cf. also OP 237^{vi.18} (ii/A.D.), where Chaeremon claims the right of taking away his daughter even against

her will from her husband's house—ἀπάγοντι αὐτὴν ἄκουσαν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἰκίας. It is the ordinary word for "arresting" (cf. Genesis xxxix. 22 τοὺς ἀπηγμένους = the prisoners): so PP III. 36 ἀδίκως ἀπηγμένον, II. 10⁽²⁾ συνέταξεν . . . ἀπαγαγεῖν με.

ἀπαίδευτος.—In OP 33^{ii.13} (see above) Appianus does not hesitate to charge the Emperor with τυραννία ἀφιλοκαγαθία ἀπαιδία as contrasted with the virtues of his deified father Antonius who was φιλόσοφος . . . ἀφιλάργυρος . . . φιλάγαθος. See *Archiv* i. 37.

ἀπαιτέω.—The verb is common. Thus PFⁱ 61⁴² (i/A.D.) διὰ τί ἔως σήμερον οὐκ ἀπήτησας; and again ⁵¹ ἐπεὶ σιτόλογοι ἦσαν καὶ ἀπητ[οῦ]ντο εἰς τὸν Καίσαρος λόγον. Add BM III. p. 92¹⁹ (i/A.D.) ὁ δὲ λήμπτωρ ἀπαιτεῖ sundry taxes; TbP 327¹⁹ (ii/A.D.); OP 237 *ter*, etc. For the subst. see OP 104²⁸ (a will—96 A.D.) ἀπαίτη[σι]ν ποιήσεσθαι, and for the adj. ἀπαιτήσιμος various land-surveys of ii/B.C. —TbP 61, 64, 72. The noun ἀπαιτητής occurs in *Ostr.* 1460.

ἀπαλλάσσω.—In NP 21¹² (ii/B.C.) which the editor pronounces to be the oldest marriage-contract discovered as yet amongst the Greek papyri,* provision is made for what will take place (see under ἀπλοῦς) if the wife of her own accord βούληται ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι "desires to be released." So TbP 104 (92 B.C.), OP 265¹⁷ (i/A.D.), 267^{17.20} (*id.*), *al.* A more general use of the verb is afforded by PP II. 2 (3) (iii/B.C., = Witk. 19) ἀλύπως ἀπαλλάσσεις "getting on without annoyance." PP II. 20⁸ (as amended PP III) λυσιτελέστερον ἀπαλλάξει "it will be more profitable for you to release (the boat from ἀγγαρία)." The perf. partic. mid. means "dead" in BM III. p. 27¹⁵

* This honour must now be conceded to the first papyrus in O. Rubensohn's exceedingly interesting collection of *Elephantine Papyri* (Berlin, 1907)—henceforth abbreviated EP—which goes back to 311/10 B.C. A third contract, belonging to the Ptolemaic period, is TbP 104 (92 B.C.).

(ii/A.D.): cf. *μετηλλαχώς*. From inscriptions may be cited *Syll.* 510⁸⁹ (ii/B.C.) ὅσοι δὲ ἐγκαταλιπόντες τὰ κτήματα ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰσίν, οἱ δὲ τοκισταὶ γεγεωργήκασιν, εἶναι τὰ κτήματα τῶν τοκιστῶν, apparently "have absconded." So FP 12¹⁹ (103 B.C.) ἀπηλλάγησαν. TbP 315 (ii/A.D.) twice shows the word, as ¹⁵ [μη]δὲν ταραχ[θ]ῆς, ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἀπαλλάξω (and so ²⁶). *Ibid.* 385²⁴ (117 A.D.) ᾧ καὶ δώσει ἀπαλλασσομένῳ [. . . , "on his release (from apprenticeship)." The τοῦ βίου, which produces the use noted above, is expressed in Hadrian's dying letter (or what purports to be such), FP 19.

ἀπαλλοτριόω.—*Syll.* 860^{12, 13} (Delphi, ii/B.C., in dialect). BM III. p. 111³ (iii/A.D.—illit.).

ἀπάντησις.—See *Proleg.* 14 (and ² 242) for its special sense of ceremonious meeting of officials, etc. The verb is very common of "attendance" before a magistrate. It is sufficient to cite *Syll.* 737⁹⁸, PP III. 30, G 13 (ii/B.C.), OP 59 (iii/A.D.). Witk. 38 and 58 (both ii/B.C.) show a common epistolary formula in which it=*accido, contingo*.

ἀπαράβατος.—G 60 (581 A.D.) ἀπαράβάτω πράσει seems worth quoting, despite its date, as it appears in a (very fragmentary) series of legal formulae, the meaning of which would not alter much. "Inviolable" must be the sense, though the words follow a hiatus. Another example, also vi/A.D., is in BM III. p. 257¹² ἄτρωτα καὶ ἀσάλευτα καὶ ἀ. [. . . , a contract for the surrender of property.

ἀπαρτισμός.—We can only cite a single instance of this rare noun, from P. Catt. iv. μεχρὶ τοῦ τῆς λογοθεσίας ἀπαρτισμοῦ (see *Archiv* iii. 65); but the verbal phrase εἰς τὸ ἀπαρτίζειν is so completely equivalent to εἰς ἀπαρτισμόν (Luke xiv. 28) that it may be illustrated. OP 117 (ii/iii A.D.) has the aor. pass. twice, the "completing" of a horoscope (?) and of a sale of slaves. OP 724¹¹ (ii/A.D.) ἐὰν δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αὐτὸν ἀπαρτίσῃς "if you make him perfect [in shorthand] within the period" (G. and H.), is

a close parallel to the New Testament use of καταρτίζω. LpP 105¹¹ (i/ii A.D.) μόγεις τὸν τῆς βεβρεγμένης (sc. λόγον) ἀπήρτισα "I have with difficulty completed the account of the irrigated land." BU 448 (ii/A.D.) πρὸς τὸ τὴν προαίρεσιν τῶν [διαθεμέ]νων φανερὰν καταστή[ναι καὶ ἕκασ]τα ἀπαρτίσθηναι τοῖς ἐνγεγραμμένοις ἀκολούθως. In P. Catt. (cited above) we find the expression ἀπαρτίζειν τὰς δίκας.

ἀπαρχή.—In TP 17.¹⁰ (ii/B.C.) the word is used for "legacy-duty": see Wilcken, *Ostr.* i. 345 f., *Archiv* iii. 7 f. In TbP 316 (99 A.D.) the editors understand it of the "entrance-fee" paid by ephebi on enrolment in the Alexandrian demes, and suggest the same meaning for PFi 57⁸¹ (iii/A.D.) παιδὸς ἀπαρχή, where, however, Vitelli refers it to "la tassa di successione." In the Magnesian inscriptions the word is very common in the sense of a personal "gift" to the goddess, e.g. 83 ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεᾷ Ἀρ[τέμιδι], and Thieme (p. 26) throws out the suggestion whether this may not be the meaning in Rom. viii. 23. From *Syll.* we may cite 529²⁴ (i/B.C.—"i.e. sacrificium," notes Dittenberger); 587²⁶³ etc. (329 B.C.—ἐπαρχῆς, as throughout this long inscription, except in ²⁹⁷: it is ἀ. τοῦ σίτου, firstfruits given to Demeter and Kore at Eleusis); 588¹¹⁴ (ii/B.C.); 611²¹ (ii/i B.C.—see note).

ἀπάτη.—See *Thess.* II. ii. 10. Attention may be called to Deissmann's note in his *Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus* (*Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Altertum*, 1903), p. 165 n.: he recalls the fact that ἀπάτη in popular Hellenistic had the meaning "pleasure," and finds this in Matthew xiii. 22=Mark iv. 19 (cf. Luke viii. 14) and 2 Peter ii. 13. Cf. Polybius ii. 56, 12; Moeris Ἀπάτη· ἡ πλάνη παρ' Ἀττικοῖς . . . ἡ τέρψις παρ' Ἑλλήσιν.

ἄπας.—The use of ἄπας for πᾶς appears to be largely determined by considerations of euphony, and is confined principally to literary documents (Mayser 161 f.): cf.

however such a phrase as εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον (TbP 56, late ii/B.C.).

ἀπάτωρ.—The word is common in papyri in such a formula as BU 88 (ii/A.D.) Χαιρή(μων) ἀπάτωρ μητ(ρὸς) Θασήτος. Krebs * renders BU 410 (ii/A.D.) Ἰσάριον ἀπάτωρα μητρὸς Τανεφρέμμεως as “the illegitimate daughter of Tane-phremmis” (p. 160), and 392¹⁰ (208 A.D.) Παῖς ἀ(πάτωρ) μητ(ρὸς) Τελβάβεως as “Pais, father unknown.” G. and H. translate similarly in TbP 397¹¹ (198 A.D.). Without the mother’s name we have Πολυδεύκους ἀπάτορος BM III. p. 98³³⁹ (iii/A.D.)—also 99⁴⁹⁶—in a long list of names in which the rest have the father’s name given: we must assume the same sense. It does not seem to be used for “fatherless.” See *Archiv* ii. 97.

ἀπειθέω.—There is absolutely no justification for supposing this word to mean in Hellenistic Greek anything else than “disobey,” as in its earlier history. Cf. HbP 73 (242 B.C.) [τὴν] Πάτρωνος βίαν, ὃς ἀπειθῶν δια[τετέλεκε τοῖς πα]ρὰ σοῦ προστάγμασιν, “who has continued to disobey your orders” (G. and H.). TbP 6⁴⁶ (139 B.C.—decree of Euergetes II) τοὺς δὲ ἀπειθοῦντας ἐπαναγκάζετε εὐτάκτως ἕκαστ’ ἀποδιδόναι, “compel those who disobey to pay all the sums regularly” (*id.*). TbP 49¹⁷ (113 B.C.) ἐὰν δὲ ἀπειθῇ “if he refuses” (*id.*). So TbP 183 (ii/B.C.) ἐὰν δὲ ἀπει[θῶσι], 315³⁰ (ii/A.D.), RL 43 (iii/B.C.) τῶν γεωργῶν τῶν ἡπειθηκότων. Add from the inscriptions *Syll.* 614¹¹⁰ (Cos, dialect, iii/B.C.) αἱ δὲ κά τις . . . ἀπειθῇ, let him be fined; 653^{40,43} (Messenian, i/B.C.) of refusal to be silent, and obey the masters of the ceremonies. The meaning of the noun is as clear as that of the verb: see *Notes* i. 279, and add FP 21²⁴ (134 A.D.) [ὅπ]ως τῆς ἀποθείας (sic) ἐκῖνοι τὴν προσήκουσαν δίκη[ν ὑ]πόσχωσι, where the edd. conjecture ἀπειθείας or ἀπαθείας, BU 747^{ii.14} (139 A.D.)

* In Erman and Krebs, *Aus den Papyrus der königlichen Museen* 1899.

ὑπόδιγμα τῆς ἀπειθείας, and Rein P 51²¹ (iii/A.D.), where τῆς τούτων ἀπειθείας follows μὴ πειθόμενοι νόμοις.

ἀπειλέω.—OP 237^{vi.4} (ii/A.D.) μήτε ἐμοὶ ἔτι ἀπε[ιλεῖν].

ἀπειμι.—Par P 45 (ii/B.C.) ἀπόντος μου πεφρόντικα ὑπέρ σου. BU 1080 (iii/A.D. ?) καὶ ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀκοῇ ἀπόντες ὡς παρόντες διαθέσι ὑψφράνθημεν. TbP 317³² (ii/A.D.) ἕκαστα ἐπιτελοῦντι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀπούσης ὀνόματος καθὰ καὶ ἐμοὶ παρούσῃ ἐξῆν.

ἀπεῖπον.—The middle (as 2 Cor. iv. 2) appears in *Ostr.* 1156 ἀπειπόμεθα παρ' ἡμῶν χρήσασθαι ᾧ βούλει γερδ(ιεύφ).

ἀπελεύθερος.—OP 98 (ii/A.D.) and often.

ἀπελπίζω.—*Syll.* 807 (ii/A.D.) αἶμα ἀναφέρουντι . . . ἀφηλπισμένῳ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου, the "faith-cure" of a man who had been "given up." (For the φ, which occurs twice in this inscription, see *Proleg.* 44).

ἀπέναντι in the sense of "over against," opposite," is illustrated by G 21¹⁴ (ii/B.C.) ἀπέναντι τῆς θύ(ρας) αὐ(τοῦ), PP II. 17(3)³ (iii/B.C.), and from the inscriptions by *Syll.* 558¹⁷ (i/A.D.) τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἀπέναντι τῆς εἰσόδου, and *Priene* 37¹⁶⁸ (ii/A.D.) εἰς τὸν ἀπέναντι βουνόν. See on this word Wackernagel's discussion, *Hellenistica*, p. 3.

ἀπερισπάστως.—The adj. is common. Thus G 11^{ii.3} (157 B.C.) τούτου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἀπερίσπαστος ὦν δυνήσομαι ἀπροφασίστως εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τὰ ἐκφόρια ἀπομετρήσαι. OP 286¹⁷ (82 A.D.) ὅπως παρέχωνται ἡμᾶς ἀπερισπάστους [καὶ] ἀπαρενοχλήτους ὑπὲρ τῆς προκειμένης ὀφειλῆς καὶ ἀποδῶσειν ταῦτα. AP 101¹⁰ (iii/A.D.) with ποιεῖν. Rein P 18⁴⁰ (108 B.C.) προνοηθῆναι (=imper.) ὡς ἀ. κατασταθήσεται. BM III. p. 149⁹ (211 A.D.), and so on.

ἀπέρχομαι.—PP II. 13 (19) (iii/B.C.=Witk. 16) καὶ ζῶντός σου καὶ εἰς θεοὺς ἀπελθόντος. Ordinary uses of the word need no illustration; but it may be noted that "in later times the idea of the word goes forward to the goal" (Usener *Pelagia* 49). So in *Pelagia*, p. 7³ ἀπήλθαμεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ

ἐκκλησίᾳ, "we went to the great church." The ἀπό has thus done for this verb what it did in early times for ἀφικνέομαι, *perfectivising* the action (see *Proleg.* 111 ff.). So also with ἀποβαίνω.

ἀπέχω.—One or two early examples of this word—"I have received" may be added to those adduced by Deissmann *BS* 229; *Par P* 52 (ii/B.C.) ἀπέχι παρ' ἐμοῦ τιμῆς ὀθόνια, *ib.* 32 (ii/B.C.), *TbP* 109¹⁷ (i/B.C.) τάλαντον ἔν, ὃ ἀπέχουσιν οἱ προγεγραμμένοι παρὰ Πετεσούχου. For the subst. ἀποχή, which is used exactly in the sense of our "receipt," cf. *OP* 91²⁵ (ii/A.D.) κυρία ἡ ἀποχή, "the receipt is valid," *Ostr.* 50 (i/A.D.) τὴν προτ(έραν) ἀποχ(ήν) and often. An important note by Albert Thumb (in *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. kl. Altertum*, 1906, p. 255) shows that the function of the *perfectivising* preposition is to supply a present answering to the past ἔσχον. In receipts we find regularly ἀπέχω and ἔσχον, hardly ever (as *Ostr.* 1417, 1430) ἀπέσχον. See also *Archiv* i. 77 ff., Wilcken *Ostr.* i. 85 f.

ἀπιστέω.—*OP* 471⁴ (ii/A.D.) περὶ οὗ θαυμάσεις οἶμαι καὶ ἀπιστή[σ]εις ἕως ἂν τὰ γράμματα ἀναγνῶμεν. *Dionysia* (*OP* 237^{v.5} (ii/A.D.) has τάχα ἀπιστεύσας εἰ κ.τ.λ. *Syll.* 802²⁴, of a sceptic at the Lourdes of Epidaurus, ἀπίσκει τοῖς ἰάμασιν καὶ ὑποδιέσσυρε τὰ ἐπιγράμματα (iii/B.C., dialect). So *vv.* 30.³¹. The appearance of the word for "incredulity" helps the case for ἀπειθέω as retaining its proper force. The subst. appears in the tonic form (κατ' ἀπιστηνίην) in the illiterate *Par P* 23⁵ (ii/B.C.): on this see Mayser 11 f. The adj. appears in *Syll.* 802³² (iii/B.C.) meaning first *incredible* and then *incredulous*: ὅτι τοῖνυν ἔμπροσθεν ἀπίστεις αὐτοῖς (the inscriptions recording cures), οὐκ ἐοῦσιν ἀπίστοις, τὸ λοιπὸν ἔστω τοι, φάμεν, Ἀπιστος ὄνομα.

ἀπλοῦς.—A significant use of this word, which effectively disposes of the contention that the *moral* sense is the only one lexically warranted (see Thayer), is afforded by *NP* 21¹³

(ii/B.C.), the marriage-contract already referred to (under ἀπαλλάσσω), where it is enacted that in the event of the wife's being set free, the husband shall repay τὴν φέρνῃν ἀπλῆν, "the marriage-dowry pure and simple," but that in the event of his not doing so at the proper time he shall repay it with interest. Cf. also the use of ἀπλοῖδιον (for the Homeric ἀπλοῖς) to denote a single garment in PP I. 12²⁰ (iii/B.C.). The moral sense is well illustrated by *Syll.* 633¹² (ii/A.D.) καὶ εὐέλματος γένοιτο ὁ θεὸς τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν ἀπλῇ τῇ ψυχῇ: cf. Deissmann *BS* 258.

ἀπλῶς.—The adv. is frequent in legal documents to lend emphasis to a statement: OP 237^{vi.21} (ii/A.D.) ἄλλο ἀδίκημα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπλῶς, "any other single act of injustice against himself," *ib.* 268¹⁶ (i/A.D.) περὶ ἄλλου μηδενὸς ἀπλῶς ἐνγράφου ἢ ἀγράφου πράγματος, "concerning any other matter whatever written or unwritten"; cf. PFi 28¹⁵ (ii/A.D.) παντὸς ἀπλῶς εἶδους. So with negative BM III. p. 130 (A.D. 39) πρὸς ἣν οὐκ εἶχον ἀπλῶς πρᾶγμα, etc.

ἀπό.—On this and other prepositions it will generally be enough to refer to Kuhring's valuable dissertation, *De Praep. Graec. in Chartis Aegyptiis Usu* (Bonn, 1906): see also *Proleg.* 102, 2246. For use=ὑπό, of agent, add *Syll.* 655⁸ (83 A.D.) ταῖς ἱερείαις ἀπὸ πλείστων ἐτῶν συντετηρημένα ἀπὸ βασιλέων καὶ Σεβαστῶν. BM III. p. 208¹² (125 A.D.) ἕως πεισθῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. For its partitive use add PP III. 11²⁰ ἀφείσθω ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων μοι σωμάτων ἐλεύθερα, "let the following of my slaves be set free"; TbP 299¹³ (i/A.D.) ἀπολυσίμου ἀπὸ ἀνδ[ρῶν πεντή]κοντα, "one of the 50 exempted persons." To Kuhring's examples (p. 52) for ἀπό privative add TbP 420⁴ (iii/A.D.) ἀπὸ ζημίας, "blameless." BU 1079 (iii A.D.), βλέπε σατὸν (=σεαυτόν) ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, disposes neatly of "Hebraisms." Note also the use in Rein P 18⁴¹ μέχρι [ἀν ἀπὸ] τοῦ σπόρου γένηται, "until he has finished his sowing"—if the supplement is sound.

ἀποβαίνω.—PP III. 42 H (iii/B.C.) (=Witk. 12) *πῶς τε σοὶ ἀποβήσεται καὶ ἡμῖν*.

ἀπογίνομαι.—GH 69¹⁰ (265 A.D.) *τῷ ἀπογεγονότι πατρὶ αὐτοῦ*, “his departed father.” Lp P 29 (295 A.D.) has aor. ptc. *ter* in same sense—so *Syll.* 850¹² (ii/B.C.) and 727¹⁵ (iii/B.C.); but three or four iv/A.D. documents in the same collection show the general meaning “depart,” c. gen.

ἀπογραφή.—PP III. 59 (*d*) is believed by the editors to be the earliest known example of a *κατ’ οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή*. “The names of the owner and the other occupants of each house are given; then the total number of inhabitants, and the number of males.” The word is used of a return of property OP 72 (A.D. 90), and a registration of sheep and goats, *ib.* 74 (A.D. 116).

ἀπογράφομαι.—The verb is used as a “vox sollemnis” in PP II. 11 (2)³ *ἀπογέγραμμαι δὲ ἐπὶ τελώνιον*, which Witk. (p. 5) translates “profiteor me rem vectigalem possidere.” Similar examples are of constant occurrence: one must suffice—OP 36 (ii/iii A.D.), where, in connexion with the payment of customs duties, it is laid down *ἐὰν μὲν εὐρεθῇ τ[ι] ἕτερον ἢ ὃ ἀπεγράψατο*, “if anything is discovered other than what has been declared” it shall be liable to confiscation *στερήσιμον ἔστω*. Cf. also *Archiv* i. 187. On the whole question of the Roman census, raised by the innumerable papyri in which returns are made or alluded to, students will of course turn to Ramsay’s *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* We have now the important additional evidence of the prefect’s rescript BM III. p. 125 (104 A.D.), which orders people to *return to their homes* for the approaching census, the seventh after that of A.D. 6 (Acts v. 37): see Kenyon *in loc.* (quoted in *Expos. Times*, Oct. 1907, p. 40).

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

OPERA FORIS.

MATERIALS FOR THE PREACHER.

VII.

EZEKIEL i. 8 : *And they had the hands of a man under their wings.*

The details of the imagery in this weird theophany may have been borrowed in part from Assyrian mythology and sculpture. But there is another possible source, viz., the climatic conditions of the land. A recent traveller in Mesopotamia, Dr. A. Hume Griffith, has described to Reuter's representative a remarkable phenomenon which he observed in the district ; this seems to have been practically a repetition of the outward scenery of Ezekiel's vision, with its whirlwind, brilliant colouring, and appearance of celestial wheels. "We had just pitched camp on the banks of the Khabur, a tributary of the Euphrates—the same river as is mentioned by Ezekiel as Chebar—when we witnessed a wonderful display as we watched the setting sun. During the afterglow the sky was lit up by rays of varied hues projecting like the spokes of a wheel from the setting sun. From either side of the sun there appeared to issue wings, and the whole appearance gave just the idea of the winged wheels within wheels described by the prophet. The period of the year was the same as that referred to in Ezekiel."

At least one trait of Ezekiel's vision, however, is due to his own religious feeling, and that is *the hands of a man under their wings*. The vision is not all unearthly. It has a human touch in it. The appeal of the vision is neither couched in a high-flying transcendental ecstasy, nor directed to some phase of experience which lies remote from the pangs and conflicts of ordinary life. Miss Dora Greenwell has happily applied this phrase to certain devotional writers

in whom the modern reader is apt to miss a sense of human reality and sympathy. "To be assured that they had joyed and sorrowed, and loved as men and women, and *as such* had felt Christ's unspeakable consolations, would be a touch of nature making them our kin. But it seldom comes. St. Thomas à Kempis, for instance, dismisses a whole world of feeling in two lines, 'Love no woman in particular, but commend all good women in general to God.' In Madame Guyon and Edwards we long, and long in vain, to see the hand of a man under the wings of the cherubim, and to feel its pressure." Ezekiel is alive to this need of the human touch in divine revelations or in the interpretations and applications of religious truth by men to men. The living creatures *had the likeness of a man . . . as for the likeness of their faces, they had the face of a man*. Above all, there was *the hand of a man* visible under their wings. No scenery could have taught the prophet this. It sprang from his deep sympathy and profound sense of relationship to men as God's interpreter.

* * * * *

Joel iii. 4 : *Will ye render me a recompence ?* (will ye repay a deed of mine ? R.V. margin).

In the name of God, the prophet challenges men to account, if they can, for their perversity. He denies them any justification. They are not to excuse themselves for evil doing by throwing the blame on a God who has mis-handled them, for God is innocent. He has never irritated men into rebellion nor goaded them by harsh measures into hatred. His treatment of men cannot be impugned. He has not pitched His demands too high, nor acted inconsiderately ; He has never exposed men wantonly or unfairly to temptation, nor has He, like some human governor or parent, exasperated them by unwise discipline into any outburst of petulance and rebellion. What have you against Me,

God asks through Joel. How have I handicapped you ? What reasonable complaint can you bring, by way of excuse, to justify your opposition to my law ? What provocation have I given you ?

This dramatic and even sarcastic outburst of the prophet seems designed to meet such suspicions of God's fairness and goodness as are voiced in the well-known lines of Fitzgerald's *Rubaiyat*. The stanza is a brilliant mistranslation, but it is an accurate version of lurking ideas in the average man.

O Thou who man of baser earth didst make,
And who with Eden didst devise the snake ;
For all the sin wherewith the Face of Man
Is blacken'd, Man's forgiveness give—and take.

The contention of the Hebrew prophet is that God, speaking here on behalf of His oppressed people, absolutely repudiates any provocation of the Phœnicians and Philistines. Men have themselves to blame, not God, for their misdeeds. They have nothing to blame God for, nothing that they can fairly bring up against Him ! His character and dealings stand out clear of all imperfection, dominated by justice and consideration. The question, in fact, expresses what we might venture to call the good Conscience, or the Innocence, of God. Like the arrows shot up at the sky by angry savages during an eclipse, man's blame of God falls back on himself, and God's character remains untouched, vindicated against any charges or suspicions from below.

JAMES MOFFATT.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

VII.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE APPEARANCES—THE RISEN BODY.

THE appearances of Jesus already considered—those, viz., to Mary Magdalene, to the women, to St. Peter, on the day of Resurrection, and that to St. James later—were all of a private or semi-private nature. Isolated, under varying conditions, designed for personal comfort and confirmation, taking place well-nigh simultaneously, the manifestations to one and another on the Resurrection day afforded no room for self-deception, or for collusion, or for the contagious action of sympathy. It would seem as if, on this first day, by manifestations to individuals chosen for their peculiar receptiveness or representative character, Jesus desired to lay a broad basis for assurance of His Rising, before He appeared to His disciples as a body.

Another example of this semi-private form of manifestation to which attention must now be directed was the appearance of Jesus to *the two disciples on their way to Emmaus*, the full account of which is furnished by St. Luke.¹ The name of only one of these favoured disciples is given—Cleopas : ² otherwise both are unknown. Chosen for this honour as representatives of the wider circle of disciples, doubtless also for the susceptibility discerned in them for the reception of Christ's communications, they form a link with the general Apostolic company. From it

¹ Luke xxiv. 12-35.

² Ver. 18.

they had just come, after hearing the reports of certain of the women and of others who had visited the tomb,¹ and to it they returned after their own meeting with Jesus, to find the company in excitement at the news of the Lord's appearance to St. Peter, and to witness another appearance of the Master.² Theirs was the singular privilege, shared, so far as is known, by St. Peter only, of beholding the Risen Lord twice on one day!

The story of St. Luke is simple and direct, with every internal mark of truthfulness. The disciples were on their way to Emmaus, a village about two hours' walk from Jerusalem,³ when Jesus overtook them, and questioned them as to the nature of their communings. Their inability to recognize Him is explained by the statement: "Their eyes were holden that they should not know Him."⁴ Their simple recital of the events of the past few days and expression of their disappointed hopes—"We hoped that it was He who should redeem Israel"⁵—with their mention of the women's tale of the "vision of angels, who said that He was alive,"⁶ gave Jesus the opportunity of reproving their unbelief, and of expounding to them as He alone could the meaning of the Scriptures regarding Himself.⁷ As the day was closing, they constrained Jesus to abide with them; then, at the evening meal, as Jesus blessed and brake the bread, and gave it to them, "their eyes were opened, and they knew Him; and He vanished out of their sight."⁸ Recalling how their hearts had burned

¹ Vers. 22-24.

² Vers. 34, 36.

³ Ver. 13; cf. Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, vii. 6, 6.

⁴ Ver. 16.

⁵ Ver. 21.

⁶ Ver. 23.

⁷ Vers. 25-27. The Lord's exposition of the Scriptures here and later (vers. 44-6) may have turned on the sufferings and fate of righteous men and prophets in all ages, and on the predictions of the future triumph and glory of the Sufferer in Ps. xxii. (vers. 22-31) and Isa. liii. Psalms like the 16th and prophecies like Zech. xiii. would also have place (cf. Hengstenberg, *Christologie*, iv., Appendix iv.).

⁸ Vers. 30-1.

within them as He opened to them the Scriptures, they hastily rose, and returned at once to Jerusalem.¹ According to the Appendix to St. Mark, their testimony, like that of the women earlier, was not at first believed²—a fact very credible when the strangeness of their story, and the difficulty of harmonizing the appearance at Emmaus with that to St. Peter at Jerusalem, are considered.³

It is apparent from many parts of his Gospel that St. Luke had access to a Jerusalem tradition of primitive origin and high value, and this narrative, which probably took shape at the time from the report of the disciples,⁴ is, in its clear, straightforward character, evidently one of the best-preserved parts of that tradition. Critics, accordingly, while of course rejecting its testimony to the bodily appearance of Jesus, commonly treat the Emmaus narrative with considerable respect. Renan, for instance, after his manner, takes the picturesque story simply as it stands, transforming the stranger into "a pious man well versed in the Scriptures," whose gesture in the breaking of bread at the evening repast vividly recalled Jesus, and plunged the disciples into tender thoughts. When they awoke from their reverie, the stranger was gone!⁵ A. Meyer sees in the appearance to Simon and the naming of Cleopas and Emmaus evidence that St. Luke's source contained "valuable old material." His chief objection is that St. Paul does not mention an incident which, if true, must have been "of priceless significance as a proof

¹ Vers. 32-3.

² Mark xvi. 12, 13.

³ It is told in Luke xxiv. 41 that, even when the Lord Himself appeared among them, the Apostles and disciples "disbelieved for joy."

⁴ Cf. Latham, *The Risen Master*, pp. 135-7.

⁵ *Les Apôtres*, pp. 18-21. Renan's description is characteristic. "How often had they not seen their beloved master, in that hour, forget the burden of the day, and, in the abandon of gay conversation, and enlivened by several sips of excellent wine, speak to them of the fruit of the vine," etc. (p. 11).

of the Resurrection.”¹ Professor Lake allows that the story “reads as though it were based on fact,” and thinks it “is probably a genuine remnant of the original tradition of the Church at Jerusalem, which has suffered a little in the process of transmission.”² It is supposed to preserve a recollection of appearances in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, afterwards woven into connexion with the Apostles (thus also A. Meyer). The reference to the appearance to Simon, assumed to be Galilean, is excised.³ Against these arbitrary conjectures, the simplicity and directness of the narrative—its “air of reality”—sufficiently speak.⁴

The real points of difficulty in the narrative are those which touch on the mystery of the Lord’s Resurrection body. Such are (1) His non-recognition by the disciples through “their eyes” being “holden” (or, as in the Appendix to St. Mark, His appearance to them “in another form”⁵); (2) His vanishing from their sight at the table; (3) His appearing on the same evening at Jerusalem. These points are better held over till all the facts of a similar nature are in view.

The time had now arrived when these private appearances of Jesus were to give place to His more public manifestations of Himself to His disciples. Accordingly, still on the Resurrection evening, and in connexion with the visit of the Emmaus disciples just described, we come to the *first* in order of the important series of *the appearances of the Lord to His assembled Apostles*. This, as in a marked degree typical, will repay careful study.

1. The witnesses to this *first appearance to the Apostles* are St. Luke⁶ and St. John,⁷ supported by St. Paul.⁸

¹ *Die Auferstehung Christi*, pp. 132–3.

² *Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, pp. 218–19. ³ *Ibid.* pp. 103, 219.

⁴ On general objections to the narrative, cf. Loofs, *Die Auferstehungsberichte und ihr Wert*, pp. 27–8. ⁵ Mark xvi. 12.

⁶ Luke xxiv. 36–43. ⁷ John xx. 19–23. ⁸ 1 Cor. xv. 5.

The story, in St. Luke, is the continuation of the Emmaus narrative ; in St. John it is a distinct episode, and furnishes in its commencement the important detail that, when Jesus appeared, "the doors were shut where the disciples were, for fear of the Jews."¹ This makes more emphatic the marvel of Christ's sudden appearance in the midst of the disciples, which yet is implied in both narratives. "Jesus," St. Luke says, "Himself stood (ἑστῆ) in the midst of them."² St. John speaks similarly : "Jesus came and stood in the midst."³ This practical identity of language in an undoubted part of the text should predispose us to consider favourably the two succeeding clauses in St. Luke, likewise identical with, or closely akin to St. John's, on which doubt is cast by their absence from some Western texts. They are these : (1) Ver. 36 reads, as in St. John :⁴ "And saith unto them, Peace be unto you." (2) Ver. 40 reads : "And when He had said this, He showed them His hands and His feet," where St. John has : "And when He had said this, He showed unto them His hands and His side."⁵ The passages are here accepted as genuine ;⁶ but, whether expressed or not, the showing of the hands and the feet in the latter is implied in St. Luke's preceding words : "See My hands and My feet," etc.⁷

Up to a certain point, therefore, the two narratives agree almost verbally. That of St. John, an immediate witness, confirms that of St. Luke, and with it supports the authen-

¹ John xx. 19.² Luke xxiv. 36.³ John xx. 19.⁴ Ibid.⁵ John xx. 20.

⁶ Alford's notes may be quoted. On ver. 36 : "Possibly from John ; but as the whole is nearly related to that narrative, and the authority for the omission weak, Tischendorf is certainly not justified in expunging it." On ver. 40 : "Had this been interpolated from St. John, we certainly should have found 'feet' altered by some to 'side,' either here only, or in ver. 39 also." The R.V. retains both clauses in the text.

⁷ Luke xxiv. 39.

ticity of St. Luke's narrative generally. The astonishment and doubt which the Lord's sudden appearance occasioned is reflected in both. St. Luke's language is the more vivid. "They were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they beheld a spirit."¹ Even after the Lord's reassurances, and His invitation, "Handle Me, and see : for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold Me having," it is declared, "They still disbelieved for joy, and wondered."² The removal of doubt is implied in St. John in Christ's showing His hands and His side, and the "joy" is corroborated in the words : "The disciples therefore were glad when they saw the Lord."³ The whole account is psychologically most natural, and sheds vivid light by contrast on the theories which see the origin of belief in the Resurrection in an eager credulity and proneness to mistake hallucinations for reality on the part of the Apostles.

At this point St. Luke and St. John part company, each giving an incident not related by the other. St. Luke tells how, at His own request, the disciples gave Jesus a piece of a broiled fish [the words "and of a honeycomb" are doubtful], and He "ate before them"⁴ (a like "eating" seems implied in the later scene in St. John at the Lake of Galilee).⁵ St. John, on the other hand, tells of a renewed commission to the Apostles, and of how Jesus "breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye [the] Holy Spirit. Whosoever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them ; whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained."⁶ Into the controversies connected with these solemn words, this is not the place to enter. It may be that here, as elsewhere, Jesus is contemplating the existence of a spiritual Society, and is investing His Apostles with disciplinary

¹ Ver. 37.² Ver. 41.³ John xx. 20.⁴ Luke xxiv. 43.⁵ John xxi. 4-13.⁶ John xx. 21-3.

authority to deal with sins which affect the standing of members in that Society.¹ Or the deeper thought may be that the remission or retention of sins is bound up *ipso facto* with the reception or rejection of the message which He commits to the Apostles to bear. Whatever the nature of the authority, the text makes plain that its exercise is conditioned by the possession of the Holy Spirit. It is not necessary to assume that the actual imparting of the Spirit was delayed till Pentecost. The act of breathing and the words used by Jesus imply that the Spirit was then given in a measure, if not in the fulness of the later effusion.² St. John, too, knew that the Spirit was not given till Christ was glorified.³

In this incident, as in the earlier appearances, while proof is given of the reality of Christ's risen body, and of its identity with the body that was crucified and buried, not less plain evidence is afforded of the changed conditions under which that body now existed. The fact is meanwhile, again, only noted. When, however, the critics import into these narratives a contradiction with St. Paul's conception of Christ's Resurrection body,⁴ and, to heighten the variance, arbitrarily transfer the appearance to "the twelve" mentioned by St. Paul in 1 Corinthians xv. 5 to Galilee, it must be pointed out that they not only break with a sound Jerusalem tradition, of which St. Paul must have been perfectly aware, but assert what, on the face of it, is an incredibility. What motive or occasion can be suggested for a convening of "the twelve" (or eleven)

¹ Cf. Matt. xviii. 17, 18. See also Latham, *ut supra*, pp. 168-74.

² "Arrha pentecostes" (Bengel). "That preparatory communication, that anticipatory Pentecost" (Godet).

³ John vii. 39.

⁴ Thus Henson (*Hibbert Journal*, 1903-4, pp. 476-93); Weizsäcker, A. Meyer, Loisy (*Les Evangiles*, ii. p. 772), etc. On the other hand, cf. Loofs, *ut supra*, pp. 27-9, 33.

in Galilee to receive an appearance? ¹ And how difficult to conceive of the simultaneous experience of such a vision by a band of men so brought together! Better, with A. Meyer, to cast doubt on the appearance altogether.²

2. Eight days after this first appearance—St. John here again being witness—a *second appearance of Jesus to the Apostles* took place in the same chamber, and under the like conditions (“the doors being shut”).³ The peculiar feature of this second meeting was the removal of the doubt of St. Thomas, who, it is related, had not been present on the earlier occasion.⁴ St. Thomas, in a spirit which the “modern” mind should appreciate, refused to believe in so extraordinary a fact as the Resurrection of the Lord in the body on the mere report of others, and demanded indubitable sensible evidence of the miracle for himself. “Except I shall see in His hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and put my hand into His side, I will not believe.”⁵ Graciously, at this second appearance, Jesus gave the doubting Apostle the evidence he asked—“Reach hither thy hand,”⁶ etc.—though, as the event proved, the sign was not needed. The faith of the disciple was greater than he thought, and the sight and words of Jesus sufficed, without actual examination, to bring him to his Lord’s feet in adoring acknowledgement. The love and reverence that lay beneath his doubts came in a surge of instantaneous devotion to the surface: “My Lord and my God.”⁷ Yet, as Jesus reminded him, there is a higher faith still—that

¹ According to Loisy, it was St. Peter, who had one day seen Jesus when fishing on the Lake of Tiberias (see below), who “no doubt [!] gathered the eleven, and kindled with his ardour their wavering faith” (ii. p. 224).

² *Ut supra*, p. 139. After disposing of all details, Meyer concludes that there is a “kernel” of truth in the story. The vision theory is discussed in next article.

³ John xix. 24–9.

⁴ John xx. 24. ⁵ Ver. 25. ⁶ Ver. 27. ⁷ Ver. 28.

which does not need even seeing, but apprehends intuitively that in the nature of the case nothing else could be true of One in whom the Eternal Life was revealed. "Because thou hast seen Me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed."¹

The confidence instinctively awakened by this striking narrative of the Lord's treatment of a doubting spirit is not disturbed by the inability that may be felt to explain why the Apostles should still be at Jerusalem a whole week after they had received the direction to meet the Lord in Galilee. Various reasons might be suggested for the delay. It appears from St. Matthew that the place and time of the Galilean meeting were definitely "appointed."² There was therefore no need for departure till the time drew near. It was, besides, the week of the Passover feast, and there was urgent cause why the Apostles, in the new circumstances that had arisen, should remain at Jerusalem to bear their own testimony, allay doubts, meet inquirers, check false rumours and calumnies.³ When they did journey northwards, it would probably still be in company. The departure may well have taken place in the course of the week succeeding that renewed appearance of Jesus on the eighth day. Very significant must that second meeting on "the first day of the week"—the anniversary of the Rising—have been felt by the disciples to be! It consecrated it for them anew as "the Lord's Day"!⁴

3. In harmony with this view of the succession of events, the scene of manifestation is now transferred to Galilee, and *the third appearance* of the Lord to His disciples took place, as recorded in St. John xxi., on the shore of the Lake of Galilee ("Sea of Tiberias").⁵ The chapter (xxi.) is a

¹ Ver. 29.

² Matt. xxviii. 18.

³ Godet suggests as a reason "the obstinacy of Thomas" (*St. John*, iii. pp. 319, 339).

⁴ Rev. i. 10.

⁵ John xxi. 1.

supplement to the rest of the Gospel, but is so evidently Johannine in character that, with the exception of the endorsement in verses 24-5, it may safely be accepted as from the pen of the beloved disciple.¹ Seven disciples were present on this occasion, of whom five are named ("Simon Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee").² All five are Apostles, if, as is probable, Nathanael is to be identified with Bartholomew. This creates the likelihood that "the two *other* of His disciples" were Apostles also—unnamed, perhaps, as Luthardt suggests,³ because not elsewhere mentioned in the Gospel. At every point the life-like touches in the story attest the writer as an eye-witness. The disciples had spent a night of fruitless toil in fishing. At break of day, Jesus appeared to them on the shore, and, as yet unrecognized, bade them cast their net on the right side of the boat.⁴ The unprecedented draught of fishes which rewarded their effort revealed at once to St. John the presence of the Lord. "It is the Lord," he said.⁵ St. Peter, on hearing the words, girt his fisher's coat about him ("for he was naked"), and cast himself into the sea, while the others dragged the net to shore.⁶ Arrived there, they found a fire of coals, with fish laid on it, and bread; after other fish had been brought, Jesus invited them to eat, and with His own hands distributed the bread and the fish.⁷ It is remarked that, whilst the disciples now knew it was the Lord, none durst inquire of Him, "Who art Thou?"⁸ It seems implied, though it is not directly stated, that Jesus Himself shared in the meal. The scene

¹ "Some (e.g., Zahn) prefer to take the chapter as the work of a disciple, or disciples, of St. John. But style, allusions, marks of eye-witness, speak to its being from the same hand as the rest of the Gospel (thus Lightfoot, Meyer, Godet, Alford, etc.). The attestation (ver. 24) covers this chapter equally with the others. The Gospel never circulated without it.

² Ver 2. ³ *Com. on St. John*, iii. p. 358.

⁴ Ver 6. ⁵ Ver. 7. ⁶ Vers. 7, 8. ⁷ Vers. 9-13. ⁸ Ver. 12.

that followed of St. Peter's reinstatement (the three-fold question, answering to the three-fold denial, with its subtle play on the word "lovest,"¹ St. Peter's replies, Christ's "Feed My lambs," "Feed My sheep") is familiar to every reader of Scripture.²

It need hardly be said, that, with all its delicate marks of truth, this narrative of the Fourth Gospel meets with short shrift at the hands of the critics. Its symbolical character is thought to rob it of all claim to historicity. The theories propounded regarding it are as various as the minds that conceive them. One curious speculation, adopted by Harnack,³ is that St. John xxi. represents the lost ending of St. Mark. Professor Lake thinks that "there is certainly not a little to be said for this hypothesis."⁴ In reality it has *nothing* in its favour, beyond the probability that the lost section of St. Mark contained the account of some appearance in Galilee.⁵ Most take the first part of the chapter to be a version, with adaptations, of St. Luke's story of the miraculous draught of fishes. Strauss sees in it a combination of this "legend" in St. Luke with that of St. Peter walking on the sea.⁶ Only in this case St. Peter does *not* walk on the sea. The newest tendency is to find in it a reminiscence of the appearance of Jesus to St. Peter, transferred to the Lake of Galilee.⁷ The second part of the story Renan accounts for by "dreams" ("One day Peter, dreaming, believed that he heard Jesus ask him, 'Lovest

¹ ἀγαπας (vers. 15, 16): φιλεῖς (ver. 17). St. Peter uses φιλῶ.

² Vers. 15-19.

³ *Chronologie*, i. pp. 696 ff. Harnack follows Rohrbach. Others see the lost conclusion of St. Mark behind Matt. xxviii. 16-20.

⁴ *Ut supra*, p. 143.

⁵ As already said, style, names (Nathanael, Cana in Galilee, Didymus, etc.), and whole cast of the narrative speak for Johannine authorship and rebut this Marcan theory.

⁶ *New Life of Jesus*, ii. pp. 131-2.

⁷ Thus, e.g., Loisy: "He [St. Peter] had seen Jesus one day in the dawn when fishing on the Lake of Tiberias," etc. (*ut supra*, p. 224).

thou Me ? ' ' ' ¹): most regard it as a free invention.² In these hypotheses it is the imagination of the critics, not that of the Evangelist, that is active. It is enough here to oppose to them, conflicting and mutually destructive in themselves, the direct and satisfying testimony of the disciple who was *there*. It is, no doubt, a miracle that is recorded—a miracle of the “providential” order—but the resemblance with St. Luke begins and ends with the fact that it is a draught of fishes. Circumstances and connexion are totally different. In a symbolical respect, it may well have been designed as a reminder and renewal of the call originally given, and a confirmation, suitable to this period of new commissions, of the pledge which accompanied that call: “From henceforth thou shalt catch men.” ³

Noteworthy in this narrative, as in the preceding, is the combination in Christ's Resurrection body of seemingly opposite characters; on the one hand, mysterious (supernatural) traits veiling recognition, and exciting awe in the beholders; on the other, attributes and functions which attest its physical reality, and identity with the body that was crucified.

4. Chief among the appearances of Jesus after His Resurrection is unquestionably to be ranked the great meeting *on the mountain in Galilee*, of which St. Matthew alone preserves the record.⁴ St. Matthew's testimony, however, is not wholly without corroboration. It is commonly assumed that St. Mark also had intended to give some account of this meeting,⁵ which is usually, and no doubt correctly, identified with the appearance which St. Paul mentions “to above five hundred brethren at once, of whom

¹ *Les Apôtres*, pp. 33-4.

² Keim takes this view of the whole chapter (*Jesus of Nazara*, vi. pp. 314-18. ³ Luke v. 10.

⁴ Matt. xxviii. 16-20.

⁵ Cf. Mark xvi. 7.

the greater part remain till now.”¹ St. Matthew, indeed, speaks only of “the eleven disciples” in connexion with the meeting. He does so because it is with the Commission to the Apostles he is specially concerned. But the wider scope of the gathering is already evident in his own intimations regarding it. The meeting had been in view from the day of Resurrection. The summons to it was addressed to the “disciples,”² who are by no means to be confined to the Apostles. The place, and, we must suppose, the time also, had been definitely “appointed.”³ It was to be in “a mountain” in Galilee—a place suitable for a general gathering. The intention, in short, was a collective meeting of disciples.

To this place, accordingly, at the appointed time, the Apostles and other disciples repaired, and there, faithful to His promise, Jesus appeared to them. The expression “when they saw Him”⁴ suggests some sudden appearance, while the clause “came unto them,”⁵ in the succeeding verse, points to approach from some little distance. In so large a company susceptibility would vary, and it is not surprising that it is on record that, when Jesus was first seen, “they worshipped Him, *but some doubted.*”⁶ The statement is a testimony to the genuineness of the narrative; it is also an indirect indication of the presence of others.⁷ In the small body of the eleven there is hardly room for a “some.” Whatever doubt existed would vanish when the Lord drew near and spoke.

With such a view of the Galilean meeting, objections to the genuineness of the great Commission, “Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all the nations,” etc., lose most of

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 6.

² Matt. xxviii. 7, 9. In ver. 10, “brethren.”

³ Ver. 16. On the whole incident, cf. Latham, *ut supra*, pp. 280–94.

⁴ Ver. 17.

⁵ Ver. 18.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Cf. Latham, pp. 291–3; Allen, *St. Matthew*, pp. 303, 305.

their force. Based as it is on the august declaration, "All authority hath been given unto Me in heaven and on earth," and culminating in the promise, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world,"¹ the Commission will be felt by most to hold its proper place. If Jesus really rose, these, or words like these, are precisely what He might be expected to use on such an occasion. Doubt of the words, as a rule, goes along with doubt of the Resurrection itself.²

[The Appearance to St. James³ was dealt with in last paper.]

5. Shortly after the great meeting in Galilee, the Apostles returned again to Jerusalem—from this time on, as every one admits, the continuous scene of their residence and labours. The fact that they did return is confirmatory evidence that some decisive experience had awaited them in the north. A link, however, is still wanting to connect the previous events with the waiting for Pentecost, and the bold action immediately thereafter taken in the founding of the Church. That link is found in *the last appearance of the Lord to the Apostles*—the appearance alluded to by St. Paul in the words, "then, to all the Apostles,"⁴ and more circumstantially narrated by St. Luke, who brings it into direct relation with the Ascension.⁵ A difficulty is found here in the fact that in his Gospel (chap. xxiv.) St. Luke proceeds without break from Christ's first appearance to "the eleven" to His last words about "the promise of the Father" and the Ascension at Bethany; whereas in Acts i. he interposes

¹ Cf. Latham, pp. 282-6; Allen, pp. 306-7.

² The critical questions in this section are chiefly two: (1) Whether St. Matthew here follows the lost ending of St. Mark (some, as Allen, favour; others doubt or deny); and (2) whether the words, "Baptizing them into the name," etc., should be omitted (after Eusebius). Prof. Lake says: "The balance of argument is in favour of the Eusebian text" (p. 88). Against this another sentence of his own may be quoted: "The text is found in all MSS. and versions" (p. 87).

³ 1 Cor. xv. 7.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Luke xxiv. 44-53; Acts i. 5-12.

"forty days" between the Resurrection and Ascension, and assumes appearances of Christ spread over the whole period. Not only Strauss, Keim, Weizsäcker, etc., but also Meyer and many other critics, emphasize this "contradiction." It may reasonably be suspected, however, that a "contradiction" occurring in books by the same writer, addressed to the same person, one of which is formally a continuation of the other, has its origin, less in the fault of the author, than in the failure of the critics to do justice to his method. St. Luke, in his second work, betrays no consciousness of "contradiction" with his first, and his acquaintance with St. Paul, and knowledge of the list of appearances in 1 Corinthians,¹ make it, as formerly remarked, unthinkable that he should have supposed all the events between the Resurrection and Ascension to be crowded into a single day. Neither, as a more careful inspection of his narrative in the Gospel shows, does he suppose this. The sequence of events in chap. xxiv. makes it clear that it was already late in the evening when Jesus appeared to "the eleven."² A meal followed. After this, if all happened on the same evening, there took place a lengthened exposition of the prophetic Scriptures. The disciples were then led out to Bethany, a mile and a half from the city. There they witnessed the Ascension. Afterwards they returned to Jerusalem "with great joy," and were continually in the Temple. Is it not self-evident that there is compressed into these closing verses of the Gospel far more than the events of one day?³ Conscious of his purpose to write a fuller

¹ Weizsäcker thinks that St. Luke's mention of the appearance of St. Peter "depended on the writer's acquaintance with the passage in Paul" (*Apostolic Age*, ii. p. 11).

² The disciples had returned from Emmaus after an evening meal there.

³ Latham justly says: "I will not listen to the supposition that the events of Luke xxiv. 36-53 all happened in the one evening—this would make the Ascension take place in the dead of night" (p. 155).

account of the circumstances of the Lord's parting with His disciples, the Evangelist foreshortens and summarizes his narrative of the instructions and promises which had their beginning at that first meeting, and were continued later.¹ Similarly, the citation of Christ's words in the closing verses of the Appendix to St. Mark must be regarded as a summary.

The last meeting of Christ with His Apostles took place, as we definitely learn from Acts i. 4, when He was "assembled together with them" at Jerusalem. It was then that His final instructions were given. Even here the scene changes insensibly to Olivet, where the Ascension is located. Jesus might have simply "vanished" from the sight of His disciples, as on previous occasions, but it was His will to leave them in a way which would visibly mark the final close of His temporal association with them. He was "taken up," and "a cloud received Him out of their sight."² As they stood, still gazing at the spot where He had disappeared, angels, described as "two men in white apparel" (if ever angels were in place, it surely was at the Resurrection and Ascension), admonished them that, as they had seen Him depart, so in like manner He would come again. The visible Ascension has its counterpart in the visible Return.

It is the same picture of the Ascension, essentially, which is given in the close of St. Luke's Gospel: "He parted from them, and was carried up into heaven."³ It matters little for the sense whether the last clause is retained, as probably it should be, or, with some authorities, is rejected, for the context plainly shows the kind of "parting" that is intended (cf. "received up," ἀναλήμψεως, in chap. ix. 51).

¹ Cf. Godet, *St. Luke*, ii. p. 358; Plummer, *St. Luke*, pp. 561, 564. Luthardt says: "Luke draws into one the entire time from the day of the Resurrection to the Ascension" (*St. John*, iii. p. 356).

² Acts i. 10, 11.

³ Luke xxiv. 51.

The Appendix to St. Mark, likewise, correctly gives the meaning: "He was received up (*ἀνελήμφθη*) into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God."¹ Not only in these passages, but throughout the whole of the New Testament, it is implied that Jesus, after His Resurrection "passed into the heavens," was exalted and glorified.²

The facts are now before us. It remains, as far as it can be reverently done, to sum up the *results* as to the nature of the body of the Lord during this transitional period between Resurrection and Ascension, and to consider briefly the problems which these raise. This, with the full recognition that, in the present state of knowledge, these problems are, in large part, necessarily insoluble.

"I am not yet ascended" . . . "I ascend."³ In these two parts of the one saying of Jesus the mystery of the Resurrection body is comprised.

On *earth*, as the history shows, Jesus had a body in all natural respects, corruptibility excepted, like our own. He hungered, He thirsted, He was weary, He suffered, He died of exhaustion and wounds. In *heaven*, that body has undergone a transformation; has become "the body of His

¹ Mark xvi. 19.

² John vi. 62, xx. 17; Eph. iv. 8-10; 1 Tim. iii. 16; Heb. iv. 14; 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22, etc. On the Ascension, cf. Godet, *St. Luke*, iii. pp. 367-71; Latham, chap. xii. Only a word need be said on the objection urged from Strauss down that the Ascension is confuted by its connexion with a now exploded cosmogony. A recent writer, Prof. A. O. Lovejoy, states the objection thus in *The Hibbert Journal*, April, 1908, p. 503: "This story [of the Resurrection] is inextricably involved with, and is unintelligible apart from, the complementary story of the Ascension, with its crude scene of levitation; and this, in turn, is meaningless without the scheme of cosmic topography that places a heaven somewhere in space in a direction perpendicular to the earth's surface at the latitude and longitude of Bethany." The objection really rests on a crudely realistic view of the world of space and time, as if this was not itself the index and symbol of another and (to us) invisible world, to which a higher reality belongs (in illustration cf. Stewart and Tait's *The Unseen Universe*). Reception into this unseen world is not by way of spatial transition.

³ John xx. 17.

glory.”¹ In comparison with the natural, it has become a spiritual—“a pneumatic”—body, assimilated to, and entirely under the control of, the spiritual nature and forces that reside in it and work through it. In the interval between the Resurrection and the Ascension its condition must be thought of as *intermediate* between these two states—no longer merely natural (the act of Resurrection itself proclaimed this), yet not fully entered into the state of glorification. It presents characters, requisite for the proof of its identity, which show that the earthly condition is still not wholly parted with. It discovers qualities and powers which reveal that the supra-terrestrial condition is already begun. The apparently inconsistent aspects, therefore, under which Christ’s body appears in the narratives do not constitute a bar to the acceptance of the truthfulness of the accounts; they may rather, in their congruity with what is to be looked for in the Risen One, who has shown His power over death, but has not yet entered into His glory, be held to furnish a mark of credibility. How unlikely that the myth-forming spirit—not to say the crudeness of invention—should be able to seize so exactly the two-fold aspect which the manifestation of the Redeemer in His triumph over the grave must necessarily present!

Let these peculiarities of the Lord’s Risen body be a little more closely considered.

1. On the one side, the greatest pains are taken to prove that the body in which Jesus appeared was a *true body*—not a spirit or phantasm, but the veritable body which had suffered on the Cross, and been laid in the tomb. It could be seen, touched, handled. It bore on it the marks of the Passion. To leave no room for doubt of its reality, it is told that on at least two, probably on three, occasions, Jesus *ate* with His disciples. With this accords the fact that the

¹ Phil. iii. 21.

grave in which the body of Jesus had been buried on the Friday evening was found empty on the Easter Sunday morning. It was seen earlier that it was undeniably the belief of St. Paul and of the whole Apostolic Church that Jesus rose on the third day in the very body which had been buried.¹

2. On the other hand, it is equally evident that the Resurrection body of Jesus was *not simply natural*. It had attributes proclaiming its connexion with that supra-terrestrial sphere to which it now more properly belonged. These attributes, moreover, however difficult to reconcile with the more tangible properties, can still not be regarded as mere legendary embellishments, for they appear in some degree in all the presentations.

The peculiarities chiefly calling for notice in this respect are the following :—

(1) There is the mysterious power which Jesus seems to have possessed of withdrawing Himself in greater or less degree from the *recognition* of those around Him. In more than one of the narratives, as has been seen, it is implied that there was something strange—something unfamiliar or mysterious—in His aspect, which prevented His immediate recognition even by those intimate with Him ; which held them in awe ; while again, when some gesture, word, or look, revealed to them suddenly who He was, they were surprised, as the truth flashed upon them, that they had not recognized Him sooner.

The instances which come under this head differ, indeed, in character. It is possible that the failure of Mary Magdalene to recognize Jesus at the beginning ² may have been due

¹ Ménégos says : “ The mention of the third day would have no sense if Paul had not accepted the belief of the community of Jerusalem that on the third day Jesus went forth alive from the tomb ” (*La Pêché et la Redemption d'après S. Paul*, p. 261 ; quoted by Bruce).

² John xx. 14.

to her absorption in her grief; but it was probably in part occasioned also by some alteration in His appearance. It is said of the Emmaus disciples that "their eyes were holden that they should not know Him";¹ elsewhere that He appeared to them "in another form."² The former expression need not perhaps be pressed to imply a supernatural action on their senses. It may mean simply that they did not know Him; that there was that about Him which prevented recognition. Yet when He was revealed to them in the breaking of bread, they appear to have marvelled at their blindness in not discerning Him sooner. In the incident at the Sea of Tiberias, the disciples may have been hindered from recognizing Jesus by the distance or the dimness of the dawn. The narrative, nevertheless, implies something in Christ's aspect which awed and restrained them, so that, even when they knew Him, they did not ask, "Who art Thou?"³

(2) It is an extension of the same supernatural quality when the power is attributed to Jesus of withdrawing Himself from *sensible perception* altogether. At Emmaus, we are told, "He vanished out of their sight."⁴ On other occasions He appeared and disappeared.⁵ Here, apparently, is an emerging from, and withdrawing into, complete invisibility.

(3) The climax in supernatural quality is reached when Jesus is represented as withdrawing Himself wholly from conditions of space and time, and as *transcending physical limitations*—in appearing, e.g., to His disciples within closed doors,⁶ or being found in different places at short intervals, or, finally, in ascending from earth to heaven in visible form.⁷ A body in which powers like these are mani-

¹ Luke xxiv. 16.² Mark xvi. 12.³ John xxi. 12.⁴ Luke xxiv. 31.⁵ Luke xxiv. 36; John xx. 19, 26.⁶ Ibid.⁷ Luke xxiv. 51; Acts i. 9. On the Ascension, see note above.

fested is on the point of escaping from earthly conditions altogether—as, in truth, the body of Jesus was.

Little help can be gained from natural analogies in throwing light on properties so mysterious as those now described, or in removing the feeling of incredulity with which they must always be regarded by minds that persist in applying to them only the standards of ordinary experience. Daily, indeed, are men being forced to recognize that the world in it holds more mysteries than they formerly imagined. Probably physicists are not so sure of the absolute impenetrability of matter¹ or even of the conservation of energy as they once were; and newer speculations on the etheric basis of matter, and on the relation of the seen to an unseen universe (or universes), with forces and laws largely unknown,² open up vistas of possibility which may hold in them the key to phenomena even as extraordinary as those in question. In another direction, Mr. R. J. Campbell finds himself able to accept the physical Resurrection, and “the mysterious appearances and disappearances of the body of Jesus,” on the ground of a theory of a “three-dimensional” and “four-dimensional” world,³ which probably will be incomprehensible to most. Then the Society of Psychical Research has its experiments to prove a direct control of matter by spirit in extraordinary, if not preternatural, ways.⁴ Such considerations may aid in removing prejudices, but they do little really to explain the remarkable phenomena of the bodily manifestations of Jesus to His disciples. These must still rest on their connexion with His unique Person.

¹ Cf. Stallo's *Concepts of Modern Physics* (Inter. Scient. Lib.), pp. 91-2, 178-82.

² Cf. *The Unseen Universe* (Stewart and Tait), pp. 166, 189-90.

³ *The New Theology*, pp. 220-24.

⁴ Cf. Myers, *Human Personality*, ii. pp. 204 ff.; Sir Oliver Lodge, *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1908, pp. 574 ff.

Specially suggestive in this last relation are the indications in the Gospels themselves that, even during His earthly ministry, Christ's body possessed powers and obeyed laws higher than those to which ordinary humanity is subject. Two of the best attested incidents in the cycle of Gospel tradition—His Walking on the Sea,¹ and the Transfiguration²—will occur as examples. Mighty powers worked in Him which already suggested to Herod One risen from the dead ;³ powers which might be expected to manifest themselves in a higher degree when He actually did rise.

JAMES ORR.

HAVE THE HEBREWS BEEN NOMADS ?

I.

It is generally received that the Israelitic nation is the offspring of Nomad tribes. The patriarchs were like the sheikhs of the Beduin tribes of our time. After the Exodus those tribes turned again to their old manner of life. Then they conquered Palestine and passed from the nomad to agricultural life.

This supposition is one of the pillars in the building of the higher criticism and the history of the religion of Israel. If the Israelites did not pass to agricultural life before the time of the Judges and Kings, it is very improbable that they would have possessed laws dealing with the cultivation of the fields and with harvest festivals. Such laws must be of much younger origin than the Israelitic tradition assumes and cannot date back to the days of Moses. In

¹ Matt. xiv. 22-33 ; Mark vi. 45-52 ; John vi. 51-71. In St. Matthew's narrative St. Peter also shared this power till his faith failed.

² Matt. xvii. 1-8 ; Mark ix. 2-8 ; Luke ix. 28-36. Wellhausen (*Das Evang. Marci*, pp. 75-6) actually supposes that the Transfiguration was originally an appearance of the Risen Christ to St. Peter. Loisy follows him in the conjecture (ii. p. 39).

³ Matt. xiv. 2.

the history of the Israelitic religion the contrast between the simple religion of the Beduin tribes and the religion of the more civilized Canaanites seems to be of great importance for the understanding of the growth and deepening of the religious ideas. W. E. Addis writes a chapter on the influence of settled life in Canaan on the religion of the Hebrews, and Wellhausen, Smend, Marti, Budde, Stade, Cornill, Nowack, Guthe, Winckler, Jeremias and many others feel certain of the fact that a period of nomad life preceded the conquering of Canaan by the Israelitic tribes.

However common this view may be, a careful study of Genesis and of oriental life proves it to be wrong. Scholars have not paid sufficient attention to some texts in Genesis and to the differences between the various kinds of population in Palestine and North Arabia. Seen from a distance these differences seem to be insignificant, but as a matter of fact they are of the utmost importance for the right explanation of the narratives in Genesis. The influence of the common opinion is so strong that even Ed. Meyer, who made such excellent remarks about the life of the patriarchs in *die Israeliten* (Halle, 1906), does not draw the conclusion which follow from his observation, that the narratives in Genesis deal with semi-nomads. He does not lay sufficient stress upon the difference between semi-nomads and nomads, and goes so far as to deny that the patriarchs knew agricultural life. "Ackerbau spielt bei ihnen gar keine Rolle" (p. 305). In the following pages I intend to show that agriculture was of great importance to the patriarchs, and that they never were nomads as is generally supposed.

II.

The common opinion that the Israelites once passed from nomad to agricultural life is only based upon the narratives in Genesis. There is no other ground for this conception

of the oldest history of Israel. Genesis tells us about the migrations of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. We are informed that they possessed flocks and herds. People living in this way are not settled, otherwise they would not move so often. Therefore scholars generally conclude, from the migrations and the herds of the patriarchs, that they were nomads. In doing so one meets some slight difficulties in some chapters of Genesis, but the impression of the nomadic life of the patriarchs is so strong, that these difficulties are easily put aside or overlooked.

We cannot understand the narratives in Genesis without a certain amount of knowledge about life in Palestine and Arabia. The inhabitants of these countries may be divided into three classes.¹ First there are the Beduins, the proper nomads. These people live in booths and move constantly. Their encampment seldom remains more than a few days on the same spot. They are travelling all the year round in a wide circuit—their “*dira*.” They feed themselves from the products of the herds and flocks and are wholly depending upon these herds for their existence. They do not cultivate agricultural products. If they eat them, it is because they have been able to get some in exchange for their wool or by robbery. Bread is a luxury. They drink water or milk, not wine. Theirs is a poor existence, quite familiar with scarcity of food and even with hunger.

Then there are the people living in towns. They are in a much better condition. They are cultivating the fields near the towns or in the oases. They dwell in houses, live by agriculture, trade and commerce. The free Beduins look upon them with contempt. They are afraid of the Beduins, who are always ready to rob the more wealthy townsmen, when they can do so without peril.

¹ Cf. A. Musil, “Arabia Petraea,” iii., *Ethnologischer Reisebericht*, Wien, 1908, pp. 22–28.

Between these two classes lives a third one, that could be called the semi-nomadic class. Some of them chiefly keep goats and sheep. At the present time they are called the Ma'aze. They cannot so easily move as the Beduins, who keep camels. The goats and sheep must drink every day, or at least every second day; so they can only live near water and need a better soil than the Beduins do. They like to cultivate a piece of land. Others are more like the townspeople. They are called by Musil, "Halb-Fellahin." They cultivate fields wherever they have an opportunity. They live in hamlets of tents, and if they are able to stay for several years they live in houses, which they build in the neighbourhood of wells and springs. It is no easy task to grow corn in those dry regions. The oppression of the population of a neighbouring town sometimes compels them to move; but when they have found sufficient water in another place they first pitch their tents and afterwards build their houses on the new soil. They possess cattle, and their flocks pasture in the desert. Their herdsmen often cover wide distances and do not come home for weeks. The difference between these people and the Beduins is obvious. The Beduin's home is where the flocks are pasturing. They carry with them all they possess, and they have only to load their camels and asses if they wish to move. The semi-nomads are people accustomed to a settled life. In the estimation of the Beduins they are not much better than the townspeople. They are equally despised by these free sons of the desert, who look upon nearly every sort of labour with contempt and consider it to be disgraceful to cultivate the fields.

If we examine the narratives about the patriarchs, we see that they are semi-nomads (Halb-Fellahin). They do not live in the desert like the Beduins do, but in the valleys of Palestine, near Gerar, Beersheba, Hebron, Sichem and

Beth-el. They are not constantly moving, but they remain several years in the same place. They have cows and oxen; the nomads of the desert only possess camels, sheep, goats and asses. Cattle cannot be kept for want of pasture.

According to Genesis xii. 10 Abram depends upon the crops of the fields for his existence. There was a famine in the land, and Abram went down into Egypt to sojourn there. He lives in a tent, and he offers his guests milk and butter, as also bread (Gen. xviii. 1). He remains several years in the same place and calls himself (Gen. xxiii. 4) a stranger and sojourner with the children of Heth. He was very rich in cattle and his servants were herdsmen (xiii. 2, 7), but he likes to live (*yashab*) in Canaan. *Yashab* means to dwell, and cannot be said of Beduins. Lot, who is living in the same way as Abram does, lives in "the cities of the Plain" and in hamlets of tents. It is obvious that Beduins do not live in a city. Abram and Lot are semi-nomads, who remain in the same place as circumstances will allow. They live in tents when they are moving, but they like to settle down wherever they may safely do so, and are tolerated by the inhabitants of the country.

Isaac lives in a house (בֵּית, xxvii. 15). And Rebekah took the raiment of Esau, which were with her in the house. He drinks wine (xxvii. 25). Jacob brought him wine and he drank. The Beduins do not have wine to drink it. He blesses Jacob without mentioning the herds with a single word: "See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which Jahve has blessed. Elohim give thee of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine" (xxvii. 27, 28). xxvi. 12 informs us that Isaac sowed in that land and found in the same year a hundredfold. According to xxvi. 14 he possessed herds and flocks and many fields. Strangely enough the Hebrew text is here always misunderstood. Isaac possessed *'abuddah rabbah*. This

does not mean "a great household" or "many servants" but "numerous fields." The word *'abuddah* occurs also in Job i. 3. In the later Hebrew it occurs very often and means always a piece of cultivated land. It is obvious that Job possessed fields. His oxen were ploughing, God blessed "the work of his hands," his children were living in houses and drinking wine. LXX translates the word by γεωργία (Gen. xxvi. 14) and by ἔργα μεγάλα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Job i. 3). Etymologically *'abuddah* cannot mean "household" or "servants." It must have had a passive meaning, and it is only by influence of the nomad theory that the word is misunderstood.

The kindred of his wife, Rebekah, are also living in houses. Nahor dwells in a city (Gen. xxiv. 10); the servant of Abraham comes into the house of Laban (xxiv. 32); the relations of Rebekah bless her and say, "Let thy seed possess *the gate* of those which hate them."

Jacob was dwelling in tents, according to Genesis xxv. 27, but he eats *bread* and *pottage of lentils* (xxv. 34). In Haran he is conducted by Laban into his *house* (xxix. 13). His wives are not with him when he is tending the flocks, they stay at home, and Jacob has to send for them if he wishes to see them (xxxi. 4). His son, Reuben, finds mandrakes "in the days of the wheat harvest" (xxx. 14). After his returning to Palestine, he builds a house and stables for his cattle in Succoth. Near Sichem he bought a parcel of ground (Gen. xxxiii. 17-19). Such is not the way of Beduins. He stays at home in Hebron, whilst his sons are tending the herds and flocks. Apparently he is a peasant. We cannot understand the dream of Joseph about the sheaves he and his brethren were binding in the field, if we do not admit that we are introduced into a scene of agricultural life. If Jacob and his sons were Beduins, Joseph could not have told them a dream like this one (Gen. xxxvii. 5 seq.).

Judah dwells (Gen. xxxviii.) in a house. Like Laban he leaves his home when going to shear his sheep (Gen. xxxi. 19, xxxviii. 12). This proves him not to be a Beduin, who is encamping in the place where his flocks are pasturing.

Jacob and his sons need corn. In times of famine they have to send to Egypt for it, like Rib-Addi, the governor of Byblos in the Amarna letters. From this it is apparent that they do not live like the Beduins do. His sons have found their money in their corn-sacks and they are afraid to go to Egypt a second time. Jacob wishes to send a present to the Egyptian official who sells the corn. A Beduin could only send products of the flocks, wool or cheese. Jacob sends of the *zimrat ha-areṣ*, of the fruit of the land (Gen. xliii. 11). It is also obvious, from the narrative about his travelling to Egypt, that he is a peasant. For nomads it is very easy to move. They have only to load their animals with their tents and utensils and they may travel in whatever direction they like. Jacob apparently is in a quite different condition. He cannot take all his things with him like the Beduins. Joseph sends him the following message : Do not regard your stuff, for the good of Egypt is yours. He sends down wagons drawn by oxen (like the Philistines used under Ramses III.) in order to convey his father, the women and the children to Egypt. When Jacob saw these wagons he decided to go and see Joseph before he died (Gen. xlv. 19 seq.). The supposed Beduins really use these wagons (xlv. 5). Genesis xlv. 31-xlvii. 5 contains also sufficient proof that Jacob and his sons are people accustomed to settled life. The way in which Joseph impresses upon the minds of his brethren what they must tell Pharaoh about their profession shows that they are abusing the king for some reason. Most probably they are afraid to be compelled to labour. Therefore they pretend to be shepherds, "for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians."

Joseph teaches his brethren what to say if they are asked about their profession, after having previously informed them what information he himself will give Pharaoh about their occupation. Ye shall say : Thy servants have been keepers of cattle from our youth even until now, both we and our fathers. They can do so because they actually possess cattle, but it would be needless to impress this answer upon their minds if it were the whole and simple truth.

Wellhausen maintains that the Israelitic tribes turned again to their old manner of life after the Exodus. Our only source for this is the book of Exodus. But there it is very clearly shown that the tribes do not know how to live in the desert. After leaving Egypt they immediately make for Palestine. They are beaten by Amalek and have to sojourn some years in the desert before they venture to attack the Canaanites. Beduins feel perfectly happy in their "dīra"; the Israelites, however, do not know how to live on the products of the flocks, and try from the beginning to settle down in Palestine. We understand this fully if we only remember the importance of agriculture for Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

This is confirmed by what is told (Gen. xi. 28 seq.) about Terah and Abraham. They lived in Ur Kasdim and Haran, and belonged to the townspeople and not to the Beduins.

If we accept the nomad theory, Abraham would be an example of a townsman passing from the settled to the nomad life. This is contrary to what usually happens. Nomads settle down and become peasants, but peasants do not become nomads.

Even those offsprings of Abraham who live in Arabia are no nomads. The Ishmaelites are living in the oasis of northern Arabia. There is a great difference between the agricultural life of those who dwell in the oases and the nomads. Everybody who has read the travels in Arabia Deserta of

C. M. Doughty, will admit this. The Ishmaelites dwell in the well-known oases, Dumah and Teima (Gen. xxv. 14, 15). They live in ḥaserim and ṭīrot, viz., in villages and encampments surrounded by walls. The many names which are composed with ḥaser prove that ḥaser is a village surrounded by small walls (Num. xxxiv. 4, Josh. xv. 27, xix. 5, etc.). Ṭīra is mentioned (Num. xxxi. 10) in parallelism to "town." It was a walled encampment. The encampments of the Beduins have no walls, as they are moving nearly every fourth day. The children of Kedar live, according to Isaiah xlii. 11, in towns and villages. They are tradespeople (Ezek. xxvii. 21), and travel from their oases to the coast. They pitch their tents when they are travelling in caravans. Psalm cxx. 5, Song of Songs i. 5 these tents are mentioned. We would again be mistaken if we concluded from the tents to the nomad life of the Kedarites. The nomads are no tradespeople.

The children of Keturah also are settled people. Midian is dwelling in towns (Num. xxxi. 10, 1 Sam. xv. 6). The Midianites are merchantmen (Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36) like the Ishmaelites (Gen. xxxvii. 25, 28, xxxix. 1). The settled population of South Arabia is derived from Abraham by Jokshan. Sheba is known from 1 Kings xi. The merchants of Dedan are mentioned Ezekiel xxvii. 20, xxxviii. 13, Isaiah xxi. 13, Jeremiah xxv. 23. Enoch in Genesis iv. 17 is the name of a town.

As far as we can identify the names of the Ishmaelites and children of Keturah, mentioned in Genesis xxv. 2-4, 12-18, they are all names of a settled population.

The same conclusion may be drawn with regard to the Aramaic relations of the patriarchs. We have already mentioned that Laban dwelt in a town and lived in a house. As yet we are not able to identify all the names of the Aramaeans that are mentioned in Genesis xxii. 20-24.

Some of the names, however, allude to semi-nomads. Uz is the name of the land Job lived in. We have seen that his oxen were ploughing. Buz is mentioned Jeremiah xxv. 23 with the well-known oasis Teima. Kesed refers to the Kasdim in South Babylonia. Tebah, Tahash and Maacah are, according to Meyer, p. 241, "Districten und Ortschaften des syrischen Kulturlandes." For Tebah he refers to 2 Samuel viii. 8 (LXX), for Tahash to Tachsi of the Egyptian inscriptions (W. M. Müller, *Asia und Europa*, pp. 251-258). Aram Maacha is known from 1 Chronicles xix. 6 as a district near Mount Hermon. The inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I. mention the Aramaeans as living in the mudbaru in Mesopotamia. They are called Achlame. The word mudbaru (midbar) has given the impression that the Achlame were nomads. A. Sanda calls them nomads in *der Alte Orient*, iv. 2. As Tiglath-pileser I. conquers six cities of the Achlame, they cannot be Beduins. Numerous Aramaic tribes lived near the Tigris, in the district that is afterwards called Beth-Aramaje. They possessed much cattle. Tiglath-pileser III. mentions five towns belonging to them.¹ They are also semi-nomads. We only find Aramaeans in the "Culturland," and we are without any knowledge about Aramaic nomads that lived in the Syrio-Arabian desert. Meyer says: "The home of the Aramaeans is the desert (p. 241): from here they immigrated in the "culturland." This is a mere supposition. Our sources do not tell us a single word about Aramaic nomads.

Everything points in the same direction. Old Testament scholars have been misled by the herds and flocks of the patriarchs. The patriarchs are men like Job and Nabal. Nobody, however, would think about calling Nabal a nomad. He is the owner of numerous sheep and goats, but

¹ *Keilinschr. Bibl.* i. pp. 32, 33, ii. p. 10.

he is also cultivating fields (1 Sam. xxv. 18 seq.) and lives in a house (v. 35 seq.). His flocks are pasturing at a great distance from his house in Ma'on. He is going to shear his sheep like Judah.

There is one argument in favour of the nomad life of old Israel we have not yet dealt with, viz., the nomad life of the Rechabites, mentioned Jeremiah xxxv. 6 seq. The Rechabites were ardent servants of Jahve (2 Kings x. 15), and according to the common opinion they were people who resisted the influence of settled life with great persistence, even when the whole nation yielded to the new circumstances. In the times of Jeremiah they still refuse to drink wine, and say: "Jonadab, the son of Rechab, commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons, for ever; neither shall ye build houses, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyards, nor have any; but all your days ye shall dwell in tents, that ye may live many days in the land wherein ye sojourn." It seems hardly possible to maintain that the Rechabites, the servants of Jahve and the friends of the Israelites, are no nomads. And yet it is a mistake to call them Beduins, and from Jeremiah xxxv. 6 seq. we cannot derive an argument for the nomad ideal in Israelitic religion, as Budde has done.

The problem of the Rechabites is connected with the Kenite problem, for the Rechabites were Kenites. B. Stade has made many excellent remarks in his article "das Kainszeichen" (*Z.A.T.W.*, 1894), where he is dealing with the Kenites, but he has brought us on the wrong track by maintaining that the Kenites were nomads, keepers of flocks, poor people that were dangerous to the peasants of Canaan by their robberies and thefts. Sayce is perfectly right in calling the Kenites "smiths"¹ He does not point

¹ *Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, p. 94. *The Races of the Old Testament*, p. 118; cf. *Theol. Tydschr.*, 1908, pp. 492-507.

out, however, their relation with the settled population.

The Beduins and the townspeople are mortal enemies. We do not see how it is possible that the Israelites and Kenites could be on friendly terms in the days of Sisera and Saul, if the Israelites were peasants and the Kenites nomads (Jud. iv. 11, 1 Sam. xv. 6). The word Cain means "smith," and Cain is the father of the Kenites (Jud. iv. 11, Num. xxiv. 21, 22). All the workmen and tradespeople are originally dwelling in towns and oases. Some of them are travelling in order to earn their living by working for the Beduins, who are not able to repair their weapons and kettles. The Beduins despise these travelling smiths, but, because they need them, they are seen wherever they travel. There is no connubium between the Beduins and the travelling smiths. The Sonna and Solubba of the present time are in exactly the same condition as the Kenites in the days of Saul and Moses. The Solubba obey the precept of their patriarchs, who forbade them to be cattle keepers, and bade them live of their hunting in the wilderness, and alight before the Beduin booths, that they might become their guests and labour as smiths in the tribe for their living (C. M. Doughty, *Travels*, i. 281). The tent of the smith is standing away from the other tents. The smiths are living in the same condition among the Masai, the Somalis and Abyssinians.¹ The word "Kain" is an invective among the Arabs. Already the daughters of the smith in Midian were not used to be well treated by the shepherds, and their father was astonished to see them come home at an early hour without having been molested by the nomads (Exod. ii. 18). Cain, the father of the Kenites, is the first man who builds a town (Gen. iv. 17). He was a tiller of the ground and lived on the fruit of the ground (Gen. iv. 2 seq.). The

¹ Cf. Th. Bent, *The Sacred City of the Ethiopians*, p. 212; Stade, *Z.A.T.W.*, 1894, p. 255.

narrative in Genesis iv. 1-16 explains the position of the condemned smith, who is despised by the nomads, but is quite safe where he pitches his tent. This narrative is a strong argument against the theory of Stade, who maintains that the Kenites are nomads. Cain is (Gen. iv.) the peasant, and Abel is the cattle-keeper, and it is impossible to invert this, as Stade tries to do. In the tent of Heber the Kenite the workman's hammer is close at hand (Jud. v. 26). In Genesis iv. 21 the word Cain = "smith" is a gloss. The original form of this verse must have been: Tubal was the father of all workers in brass and iron in the same way as Jabul and Jubal were the fathers of nomads and musicians. The glosses Cain and hammerer (*lotes*) have been introduced into the text, and so the original text was corrupted.

So Cain and his offspring are at the same time townspeople and nomads. We do not understand how these condemned smiths can be on friendly terms with the Israelitic tribes near Sinai, if these tribes are nomads. It is impossible that a man of importance, as Moses doubtless was, should have married the daughter of a smith. This can only be understood by admitting that the Israelites were also people used to agricultural life.

We return now to the Rechabites. According to 1 Chronicles ii. 55 they were Kenites. The Kenites worshipped Jahve like the Israelites. The most probable explanation of this seems to me that Jahve, the god of thunder and lightning, who revealed himself in fire, was the patron of the smiths, the fire-workers. These travelling smiths came to Jerusalem as the hordes of the Babylonians swept the country. They could be set as an example before the Israelitic worshippers of Jahve. They were obeying the commandments of their patriarch, but Israel did not obey the commandments of the Lord. Of course this does not imply that the Rechabites and Israelites once had the same customs and manner of life.

At the end of this article I want to lay stress upon the fact that I do not bring forward in these pages some hypothesis or theory that is based on certain suppositions or combinations. We have only read the narratives of Genesis. In these narratives there is not a single text in favour of the theory that a period of nomad life preceded the settled life in Canaan. The importance of this conclusion for the higher criticism is obvious. We see at once that laws dealing with agriculture, mentioning the house and the fields, are not necessarily merely by this fact of a later origin. In the history of Israel this simple remark also opens out a different perspective. Merenptah devastated in his fifth year the fields of Israel. It is generally received either that this Israel must be a part of the tribes that never went to Egypt, or that the Exodus took place at a much earlier date than the reign of Merenptah. Now we see that it is quite probable that Israel had not yet been in Egypt, as its fields were devastated by the Egyptian army.

B. D. EERDMANS.

HERR ALOIS MUSIL ON THE LAND OF MOAB.

II. SOUTHERN MOAB.

THE previous article, in last month's EXPOSITOR, covered the two northern districts of Moab : el-Belka and el-Jebâl.

The boundary between el-Jebâl and the next district to the south, el-Kûra, is a valley, which, though it does not issue into the Dead Sea, but is only the chief tributary of the Môjeb, yet, from its length and depth, ranks as one of the great dividing lines of the country. Known on its lowest reaches as the Seyl-Heydân and the Seyl el-Hammâm, in its middle stretch (which is crossed by the Roman and the present trunk-roads) as Wâdy el-Wâleh, and on its upper

stretches as Wâdy er-Rmeyl and Wâdy eth-Thamad; it drains by a northern tributary all the north-east of Moab (Musil has clearly determined this little-known fact), but finds its more direct sources in the desert hills east of the Hajj road. Herr Musil has visited, and describes, practically the whole of its course and all its tributaries.

The lowest stretch, Seyl-Heydân, is in part a deep impassable gorge, excelling in grandeur the hollow of the Môjeb,¹ but in part, also, a wide, fertile plain, "considerably wider than the Môjeb," through which the stream flows between prominent rocks of lava. This plain is cultivated to-day by the Ḥamâydeh Arabs, while on the plateau to the north of it are scattered remains of ancient gardens and fields (95 f., 135). On the next stretch, Seyl el-Ḥammâm, Musil reports a fort, Kūl'ammet aba-l-Ḥsein, part of which "vividly recalls to him similar structures of the Crusaders." Farther up, where the valley bears the name el-Wâleh, and is crossed by the Roman road with remains of a bridge, the natural features and ruins are well known. But Musil reports traces of another bridge a little higher up, on a line of passage, north and south, preferred by the Bedouin to the Roman road. From here the stream fails in summer till, past Rmeyl, the stretch of it known as W. eth-Thamad is reached. This forms a constant watering-place for a wide region; and therefore the junction of several main roads, as well as the site of considerable ruins now called el-Mdeyne. Here Musil makes one of his most interesting Biblical suggestions and identifications. In the shingle and gravel of the wâdy, which is almost bare of vegetation, the Bedouin dig out with their hands pits, from 0·3 to 1 metre deep, in which water gathers from 0·2 to 0·3 metre deep. "Such water-pits are called Bîr, Biyâr. Since they are regularly filled up by the

¹ P. 128: "die mächtige, zerklüftete Schlucht des sejl Hejdân ubertrifft an Grossartigkeit die bekannte Senkung des Môjeb."

winter-rains, they have to be freshly dug every spring. Each tent possesses its own bîr; those of the heads of families and clans are restored with special care, and although the chiefs themselves only seldom work with their own hands, yet it is always said: 'This well dug (ḥafar) Sheikh N.''' (298). The fact naturally suggests to Herr Musil the account of the Israelites at Be'er (Num. xxi. 16; cf. Be'er Elîm of Isa. xv. 8), and therefore he identifies Be'er with this "Mdeyneh on eth-Thamad" ¹ (318). "It is the only place north of the Arnon where the water comes to the surface in the manner described in Numbers xxi. 16-18. Eth-Thamad specializes the meaning of the Hebrew Be'er [Freytag explains Thamad or Thamd as *aqua pauca origine carens, unde plus emanare possit*], while the terebinths growing here justify the epithet Elim." It is, of course, hard to believe that such methods of procuring water are not applicable in the beds of other wâdies, and terebinths are frequently found in Moab. But if Herr Musil be correct, that this is the one spot where such methods are practised north of the Arnon, he has given us a fixed point in Israel's itinerary through the land of Moab. In that case it may be tempting to some to note the similarity of sound between Mdeyneh and the Matthânah of Numbers xxi. 18 f. If, however, Matthânah be meant as a place-name ² (the text is uncertain), it is the next stage north or north-west from Be'er in the itinerary. And if we take the well-supported Septuagint form of it, Manthanen or Manthanaein, we find a possible modification of this (considering the frequent substitution of *l* for *n*) in Nitil, the name of an important site (noted but hardly described by Musil) 8 kilometres north-west of Wâdy eth-Thamad towards Israel's goal in the Jordan valley under

¹ There is another Mdeyneh on W. es-Sa'îde, the upper stretch of the Môjeb, which is not distinguished from this in Musil's Index. See below.

² Budde proposes to translate *From the desert a gift!* and to take this as the fifth line of the Song of the Well.

Nebo.¹ Again, if Be'er be the W. eth-Thamad, Naḥali'el, which Musil identifies (under a query) with W. el-Wâleh, would (unless Israel struck due west from Be'er down the Wâdy) rather be the W. Zerka Mâ'in, as Conder suggested. Naḥali'el or God's Wâdy is not an unsuitable epithet for the latter, in which there are so many hot and healing springs.²

3. EL-KÛRA. Of this third division of the tableland of Moab lying between W. el-Wâleh and W. el-Môjeb, Herr Musil gives a more favourable account than other travellers have done. He rode round the most of it and crossed it in several directions, marking signs of its fertility and numerous ruins. A glance at his map, however, proves the truth of Burckhardt's observation that it is less fertile than other parts of Moab. There is a striking want of place-names in the centre of el-Kûra, though they increase on its borders among the tributaries of the Wâleh and Môjeb, and are also somewhat frequent on the line of the main Roman road, and again some 14 kilometres to the east on the line of Umm er-Rašâs and other, presumably Roman, fortifications against the desert.

West of the Roman road there is little to note. Musil calls the soil "pretty fruitful" (128), and in June 1897 found "fine wheatfields" being reaped by the Ḥamâydeh Arabs. The plateau is here known as Ammu Jamâl. There are four noteworthy sites: Tell el-Byâdeh; the village esh-Shkêk³ above the Heydân gorge; Barza, "of which the numerous and still preserved vaults of hewn stone, courts and cisterns let us see that this place was once of great import-

¹ This is at least more probable than the identification of Matthanah which Musil (296, 318) suggests with Khreybet es-Siker through Jerome's "Matthane, quae nunc dicitur Masechana. Sita est autem in Arnone, duodecimo miliario contra orientalem plagam Medabus."

² *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 561 f.

³ The name means "fissure" or "cleft," and is found also south of the Môjeb: cf. Musil's map and my article *P.E.F.Q.* 1895, p. 46.

ance”¹ (128); Dhafra on the henu Zebeyd, with remains of vineyards and gardens (129 f.); and edh-Dheheybeh,² a clump of ruins. To the south-east of this group of sites and on the Roman road itself lies Dhibân (which I heard by Arabs on the spot pronounced Zibân), the extensive ruins of the ancient Dibôn, in which the inscription of Mêsha, king of Moab, was found. Herr Musil gives a detailed description of the site and ruins, with a plan which clearly marks the double city, but does not include within it the third knoll to the south which is marked No. II. on my rough sketch (in the *P.E.F.Q.* 1905, p. 42), and round which I found traces of a wall. The southern town appears to him “to be much older, and had a surrounding wall.” This agrees with my own observation of some “older looking walls” (older, that is, than the apparently Byzantine ruins which prevail on the site), which appear in my photograph. “In Dhibân one finds almost nowhere roofs of stone slabs upon a substructure of arches, but only massive barrel-vaults, which often consist of finely hewed cubes” (377). In the S.E. corner of the south town are the remains of a fortress (probably, as I remarked, the citadel), with a gate protected by two towers; in the N.W. corner there is a tower, and by it a gate, on the level of the 15 metre deep trench which separates the two towns. The north town also was surrounded by a wall (nearly 5 feet thick), and contained besides towers a “palace” the remains of which crown its highest point. The chief entrance is on the north-east, beside a reservoir, and a paved way leads to the main road. The importance of the town is shown by the four or five roads, which in addition to

¹ Musil’s guide told him that a great human statue, shakhs, and a bull’s head were discovered here, but broken up out of fear of evil spirits.

² The consonants of this name, the root of an Arabic word for gold (Heb. זָהָב), occur in various forms in at least 4 place-names on Musil’s map. Three of them are lumped together in the index: the above one is omitted. Compare [זָהָב] זָהָב, the LXX reading of זָהָב in Num. xxi. 14; and זָהָבִים in Deut. i. 1.

the main road converge upon it. Eusebius says that it was still a *κώμη παμμεγέθης* in his day.

East of Dhibân the back of el-Kûra appears for some distance destitute of ruins and place-names,¹ but these abound, as already said, over and within the wâdies to the north and south. On the south edge of the plateau, about 1,000 yards east of where the Roman road drops into the Môjeb, lie the ruins of 'Akṛaba, "scorpion," a name applied in the east to many spots near such zig-zag descents as that by which the road is carried down to the bed of the cañon. About two kilometres further east, and also on the edge of the plateau, just where another ancient road, now called es-Sinîneh,² descends to cross the Môjeb, are the ruins 'Arâ'er, with traces of a tower, a wall and a gate: the ancient 'Arô'er, *which is on the lip of the wâdy*,³ and on a high road—*upon the way take thy stand and look forth, inhabitress of 'Arô'er*.⁴ This is one of the names about which there can be no doubt. It seems never to have shifted. Eusebius speaks of it in his day as above the Arnon "on the eyebrow of the hill." The northern limit of Sihon's kingdom according to the book of Joshua, it was also that of David's: *and they began from 'Arô'er and the city that is in the midst of the wâdy towards Gad and on unto Ya'zer*.⁵ "I built," says Mêsha', "or fortified 'Arô'er, and made the highway by the Arnon."⁶ Herr Musil gives an instructive plan of 'Arâ'er with the cliffs below it, and the zigzag road down them and across the Môjeb (Arnon), "by the remains of an old well with the name Khreybet Ajam"⁷ (130). I visited this ruin in 1904, but

¹ And even of cisterns, see p. 131.

² Sanîn=land stripped bare of herbage: sanan or sunan=a road.

³ Josh. xii. 2.

⁴ Jer. xlviii. 19.

⁵ So we ought to read 2 Samuel xxiv. 5: see Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, 286. Compare Deut. ii. 36, iii. 12, iv. 48; Josh. xiii. 9, 16; 2 Kings x. 33; and even Jud. xi. 26 and 1 Chron. v. 8.

⁶ "Moabite Stone," l. 27. ⁷ One thinks of the Hebrew again (but with initial aleph, not ayin), "swamp" or "ditch."

sought in vain along the stream for remains which might represent *the city which was in the midst of the wâdy*, and which some of the passages above cited so closely associate with 'Arô'er in marking the southern boundary of Moab and of Israel. The question is obvious, whether this city may have occupied the site of the extensive Roman ruins above the south bank of the river described by me in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, 375 ff. But it must be answered in the negative. We have here to do with a line of road on which nothing is identifiable as older than the Roman period; and we must rather seek for the *city in the midst of the wâdy* on the older line of road which passes 'Arâ'er, if we suppose that its association with the latter by so many texts implies that the two lay close together. This assumption, however, is unnecessary, and we shall immediately see grounds for holding that *the city* in question lay on the same border indeed as 'Arô'er, but farther up the Wâdy to the east. Thither we now proceed, noting first some sites which intervene.

About 4 kilometres east of 'Arâ'er lie the ruins el-Lehûn or el-Yehûn. "As in 'Arâ'er, so here, there stands on the edge of the plateau (on the right bank of the W. el-Lehûn) a fortress. It seems of much older origin than that of 'Arâ'er.¹ The enclosing walls are put together with rough stones without mortar, and the dwellings . . . show the same construction. Only in the wâdy-bed and on its east side are remains of later buildings of hewn stone" (131); also "a well-preserved Roman tower" (330). Farther east are el-Mshakḡar (or esh-Shḡêra), Kaṣr Siken, "a strong tower" (330), er-Râmma, "an ancient place on a height visible from far" (111); and then we come to the upper stretch of the Môjeb, known as W. Sa'ideh, on the north side of

¹ South of this on the Wâdy is a site marked on the map as Umm er-Rummâneh.

which are numerous ancient remains. On a projection of the plateau southwards, entrenched to the depth of 170 metres and more by the Wâdies Sa'ideh and Sâliyeh, are the formidable ruins of a fortified town now known as Mdeyyneh (247 with photograph, 328 ff. with plan). Its walls were nearly four feet thick, and there were two towers, at least one very large building and a number of caves. Herr Musil suggests that this may be *the city of Moab* (עִיר מוֹאָב) *which was on the border of Arnon at the end of the border*, whither Balak came to meet Balaam,¹ and also *the city* (הַעִיר) *which is in the midst of the wâdy*. (And he cites Jerome to the effect that in his day the ruins were shown of a city Madian "juxta Arnonem et Areopolim.") The identification in both cases is very probable. The phrase *in the midst of the wâdy* not unsuitably describes Mdeyyneh, and the association of *the city in the midst of the wâdy* with Arô'er above alluded to would be natural: both of them on the edge of the Arnon, the southern border of Moab, and respectively towards the opposite ends of this. We may even go a little further and on two grounds identify also 'Ar with the same site. For 'Ar or 'Ar-Moab (in those texts in which the latter seems to be a city and not, as it does in others, a district)² is probably the same as 'Ir-Moab; and Deuteronomy ii. 18 especially calls it *the border of Moab*. With this agrees the reference in the old song Numbers xxi. 15: *the cliff of the valleys* (i.e. of Arnon) *which stretches to the seat of 'Ar and leans on the border of Moab*. The phrases *stretches to 'Ar* (if understood of an eastward direction), and *on the border*, closely agree with that cited above, *on the border of Arnon at the end of the border*. On the whole, then, the triple identification of Mdeyyneh with 'Ir-Moab, *the 'Ir in the midst of the*

¹ Num. xxii. 36.

² See G. B. Gray on Numbers xxi. 14, 15: 'Ar means city, and may have been the Moabitic equivalent of the Heb. 'îr (pl. 'arim); and the article Ar by the present writer in the *Enc. Bibl.*

wâdy and 'Ar or 'Ar-Moab is probable. It may be exhibited thus :—

'Ir-Moab	=	Ha-'Îr.	=	'Ar or 'Ar-Moab.
<i>on the border of</i>		<i>(in the midst of</i>		<i>The cliff of the</i>
<i>Arnon at the end</i>		<i>the Wâdy), also</i>		<i>valleys (i.e. of</i>
<i>of the border.</i>		<i>placed along with</i>		<i>Arnon) stretches to</i>
		'Arô'er on the		'Ar and leans on
		border of Moab.		the border of Moab.

The only alternative, which suggests itself, is that *ha-'Îr* in *the midst of the Wâdy* was actually in the bed of the latter ; in that case we have as possibilities the ruins reported by Burckhardt on the fine pasture ground near the confluence of the Lejjûn and the Môjeb,¹ and above this the site marked Umm er-Rummâne on Musil's map.

To the east of Mdeyyneh are a group of ruined forts : Kaşr ed-Dîrseh commanding from the north the passage across the main wâdy (as the opposite Kaşr el-Kharazeh and Kşêr esh-Shwêmi command it from the south) ; and a little to the north the "ancient Roman fortress Kaşr eth-Thrayya" (328). On the same frontier towards the east, which these faced, and on the same main line of road north and south which they guarded, but some eleven kilometres north of eth-Thrayya, in the centre of el-Kûra, stand the well-known tower and extensive ruins of Umm er-Raşâş. The tower gives view over the country far and wide, but particularly towards the eastern desert. It commands the approach from the latter to the fertile el-Kûra, "as well as the only convenient road" across it from north to south. "All higher points, east, north-east and south-east, are furnished with small fortifications, which are so arranged that one can always see from each of them the two next" (110). The whole represents the carefulness of the Roman system of fortifica-

¹ Suggested by Grove and Wilson in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, 2nd ed. Confluence of Môjeb and Seyl eş-Sfey according to Musil's map.

tion towards the east. Inside this screen are two places which Herr Musil identifies with Biblical sites : Jmeyl, the Beth-Gamul of Jeremiah xlviii. 23,¹ and el-Meshreyk (or as he transliterates it Mešrejž), "the orient or east," for which he suggests the Kēdemoth of Deuteronomy ii. 26.

4. ARD EL-KERAK. The most southerly and largest of the four divisions of the land of Moab extends from the Arnon to the Seyl el-Kerâhi or Seyl el-Hsa. Professor Brünnow's results revolutionised our knowledge of its water systems, and especially of the southern tributaries of the Arnon, as well as of the streams which combine at Kerak, and find their way to the Dead Sea down the long valley, usually (though perhaps not rightly) known as the W. el-Kerak. It used to be supposed that the latter rose far to the east near the Hajj road. But Professor Brünnow made clear the existence of a high range immediately to the east of Kerak, and showed that the southern tributaries of the Arnon rise east of the Hajj road, and far south over the plateau, to below the latitude of Kerak. Herr Musil has confirmed and extended these results. His map shows the watershed between the Arnon basin and the Wady el-Hsa as only some five kilometres north of the latter ; while the W. es-Sultâni, the greatest of the southern tributaries of the Môjeb, finds its sources to the east of the Hajj road, and far to the south of even Kal'at el-Hsa (or Hesy, as we have been accustomed to call it). Quite three-fourths, therefore, of the southmost division of Moab is drained through the Môjeb or Arnon, and mainly by the latter's southern tributary, the Wâdy es-Sultâni.

The W. es-Sultâni, besides being the extreme eastern limit of the 'Ard el-Kerak and of the cultivated territory (319 *n.* 15), offers "across the plain on its banks a comfortable way

¹ This has been suggested before, but many prefer Umm el-Jemâl further north.

which affords to the Bedouin the most convenient connexion between North and South" (316). Herr Musil, therefore, takes it as the "natural east boundary of ancient Moab" (316), and identifies it with the brook Zared, in which Israel camped when they were already *in the wilderness east of Moab*,¹ and which they crossed in order to get into the territory of Moab, 'Ar.² This may be right, but in that case Israel would have had to bend eastward again in order to reach Be'er, if the latter be, as Herr Musil plausibly suggests, el-Mdeyne³ on the W. eth-Thamad. Musil rightly says that "Zared has nothing to do with the southern border of Moab," and therefore the old identification with the Wâdy el-Hsa (Aḥsa or Hesy⁴) is ruled out.⁵ So also is the suggestion that Zared was an upper stretch of the W. el-Kerak,⁶ now that it is clear that this Wâdy does not run far east of Kerak. The name of Israel's station previous to the Zared is 'Iyye ha-'Abārîm, and thus pointed means *heaps, or ruins, of the 'Abarîm*, the mountains or districts over Jordan, so called to distinguish it from 'Ai and 'Iyyîm in Judah.⁷ But Musil explains it as "low heaps of stones which, in the desert, flat and crossed by shallow but crumbling water-channels, mark the most convenient passages, and with some tribes bear the beautiful name of Shams-eṭ-Ṭarîk, "Sun of the path" (319). If he be correct, we should perhaps print the name 'Iyye ha-'Oberîm.⁸ But note that there is a Khirbet 'Ayy on the plateau SSW. of Kerak on a road to the W. el-Hsa, and that Musil equates this with Aia of the Mâdaba map.

¹ Num. xxi. 11 f.² Deut. ii. 8, 13, 18.³ See above.⁴ Robinson, *BR.* ii. 555 f.; Tristram, *Moab*, 50.⁵ So already rightly G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, 283.⁶ Gray, *loc. cit.*; Bertholet, *Deuteronomium*, 8.⁷ See present writer's article "Abarim" in *Enc. Bibl.*⁸ Before coming to the Kal'at el-Hsa, Doughty "saw many heaps of stones, which whether to mark a way, or graves, or places of cursing, or 'heaps of witness,' are common in all Semitic desert countries" (*Arabia Deserta*, i. 26).

From Irby and Mangles onward travellers have emphasized the fertility of 'Arḍ el-Kerak and the numerous signs of a large ancient population. Their evidence is both confirmed and increased by Herr Musil. Most of the plateau to the west of the Roman road and much of it to the east is very fruitful. To-day there are numerous fields of wheat, barley and maize. The best wheat is grown east and north-east of Rabba, where, though the water supply is poor, the soil is fertile (157), and there is lavish evidence of a stirring life in ancient times (35). Fertility extends as far east as Moreygha and et-Tamra (42 f.), and even in parts to the W. es-Sultâni. The country, through which the road passes from el-Kerak to the W. el-Hsa, has always been known to be fertile—"a country of downs with verdure so close as almost to appear turf," and "covered with sites of towns on every eminence and spot convenient . . . ruined sites visible in all directions";¹ but Herr Musil adds to our knowledge a large number of fruitful glens and level spaces between this and the west edge of the plateau above the Dead Sea. Here, besides cereal crops, are fine groups of olives, figs and pomegranates, while new vineyards are being laid down (260 f., etc.). Perhaps the most fresh information is that which he gives of the coast about the Lisân; the land here is very fertile and diligently cultivated by Ghawarneh Arabs (160). To their chiefs appertain all the lumps of asphalt which come to the surface of the Dead Sea.² But since the Turkish Government settled in Kerak agriculture has rapidly increased over the whole division. Ruined sites, desolate for centuries, have been re-inhabited: some of them, like Ja'far, so recently and so suddenly as in the interval between two of Herr Musil's visits. If the Turks

¹ Irby and Mangles. ch. vii. May 14th and 15th.

² This sea, according to Musil, is called by the Terâbîn el-Baḥr el-Mayet, by the Shûr Buḥeyrat el-Melh, and by the Zullam Baḥr el-Fli.

succeed in continuing to preserve order, it is clear that it will not be long before the whole province is as populous as its crowded ruins show it to have been during the Roman and Byzantine periods and possibly also in Old Testament times.

The two most famous and populous sites in this division during ancient days were Rabba and Kerak. The name Rabba preserves that of Rabbath-Moab, which, however, is not mentioned in the Old Testament, and first (so far as I know) appears in Josephus.¹ It is remarkable that the early Semitic designation should have survived, although the town is chiefly known in history as the Areopolis ² of the Greek period; and although the Moslem geographers call it Mâba. Herr Musil gives a careful account of the frequently described ruins (370 f. with plan and photographs), which are fast disappearing to furnish buildings in el-Kerak (156). He takes the place as equivalent to 'Ar-Moab, a name which he justly holds was sometimes applied to all the land between the Môjeb and the Wâdy el-Hsa (370-381),³ and he is reminded by the place-name (a little to the south) Marma el-'Eyr of 'Ir or 'Ar-Moab (369, 381). He records a number of the neighbouring place-names; confirming, I am interested to notice, the Muhâraḳât el-Miyâl (Brünnow has el-Miyah), and the el-Misdaḥ (Baedeker and Brünnow have el-Misde) which I noted there. Brünnow's el-Jarûd (?), which Khalil gave me as el-Yarût, Musil spells Jârûth (with the German J). He gives a full account (140) of Beit el-Karm or Kaşr Rabba. The latter name, he says, is almost never used. The ordinary name is Khirbet el-Kaşr. To the west of Rabba he finds the ancient Dîmon (Isa. xv. 9, Jer. xlviii. 2) in Dimneh and the Naḥal ha-'Arâbîm of Isaiah xv. 7 in the

¹ xiv. *Ant.* i. 18; 'Arabatha, or 'Paḩaḩa.

² Said to have been suggested by a confusion of the site with that of 'Ar of Moab.

³ *For to the children of Lot have I given 'Ar for an inheritance* (Deut. ii. 9, 29).

Seyl el-'Arâbi (157, 170). Kh. ed-Denn on the same road a little farther north he takes as Jerome's Dannaia "at the 8th milestone from Areopolis towards Arnon" (376, 382); Jerome equates it with the ancient Dennaba. El-Jelimeh, north-east of Rabba, he identifies with the *'Αιγαλειμ* of Eusebius (57), but the datum of the Onomasticon, "to the south of Areopolis," points rather to el-Jelimeh, south-east of Kerak; and the ancient ruin, Kh. Jaljûl further south with the Eglai'm, 'Agalim, of Isaiah xv. 8 (365, 381), but Jaljûl is more probably an ancient Gilgal.

Of el-Kerak herself Herr Musil gives the fullest account yet published, but the student will do well to add to it the data of other travellers, like Burckhardt, Tristram, Doughty, Hornstein, and those of Forder, who was long resident there. This walled but ungated fortress of the Franks, on one of the finest positions ever offered by nature to the art of men, was entered by zig-zag tunnels beneath the walls. In 1904 I found recent breaches through the walls, and was told that the chapel, which I sought to see in the Frankish citadel, did not exist. Herr Musil says that it has been destroyed. Probably el-Kerak represents *Ḳir-Heres*, *Ḳir-Hareseth* or *Ḳir-Moab* of the prophets and the Second Book of Kings.¹ The Targum on Isaiah gives *Ḳir Moab* as *Kerakka*,² which means in Hebrew a large or fortified town.³ The name *Hareseth* is difficult, and has been subjected to various interpretations and emendations. But Brünnow found the name *Wâdy Ḥarasha* (with a ruined *Ḳaṣr Ḥarasha*) applied to a lower stretch of the *Wâdy Kerak*.⁴ After the Targum the name *Kerak* is continued by

¹ 2 Kings iii. 25; Isaiah xv. 1, xvi. 7, 11; Jeremiah xlviii. 31, 36. This is the usual identification. (Cf. Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.*, 2676 f., and C. H. W. Johns, *Hastings' D.B.* iii. 1, 2.

² So Johns, as in previous note.

³ The Mishnic Hebrew כרך means to enclose.

⁴ Brünnow, *Mittheil. u. Nachrichten d. Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, 1895,

Ptolemy's *Χαρακμβα*,¹ the *Μωβου Χαραξ* of Uranius,² by some coins from the reign of Caracalla,³ which spell the name as Ptolemy does, and fragmentarily on the Mosaic map of Mâdaba, where the letters *AXMΩBA* are attached to a picture of a fortified town on a rocky height rather far to the east of the Dead Sea. It is well known that the Crusaders spelt the name Krak or Crac, and gave the place the ecclesiastical title of Petra Deserti, mistaking it for the real Petra.

Herr Musil gives a fuller and more accurate account of the surroundings of Kerak than we have hitherto possessed (see pp. 153 f., etc.).

Herr Musil visited the ruins el-Kerye in the peninsula el-Lisân, and identifies them with the crusading Marescalcia. Concerning the ancient ford across the Dead Sea, he says that one Hanna el-Kalanze told him: "In the year of my birth (about 1830) an earthquake took place. Then vanished the way from el-Lisân to 'Ain Gedi through the Dead Sea. This way, called el-Mkêṭa, was 2-4 steps broad and in places 2-5 fingers under the water, so that it had to be delimited with poles. In the Ghazu expeditions the victors returned home with their booty very gladly across el-Mkêṭa, because their way could not be cut off" (172). An ancient road runs up from the Lisân to Kufr-Abba. The ruins in the Ghor el-Mezra', at the mouth of Wâdy el-Kerak, just on the northern bay formed by the Lisân, he thinks may correspond to the "Beithomarsea which is also Maioumas" of the Mâdaba map, the harbour of el-Kerak (160, 170).

68. The name Harasha is not confirmed by Musil, who applies others to the lower stretches of the Wâdy. The Targum renders Kir-Hareseth by Kerak Tokpehon.

¹ So Stephanus Byz., quoting Ptolemy; but the MSS. of Ptol. v. 17 give *Χαρακωμα*; and the map places it far to the due south of the Red Sea beyond Petra.

² *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iv. 526.

³ *Revue Numism.*, 1899, 274, quoted by Schulten, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madaba*.

On the south-west flank of this division Herr Musil suggests or approves the following identifications: Seyl en-Numera with Nimrin of Isaiah xv. 6 (68, 74, 238, 262); el-Fâs with the Lûhith of Isaiah xv. 15; el-'Arāk with Ḥoronnaim; ¹ Zoar with some ruins in the Seyl el-Keraḥi, which are called el-Kerye, but whose possessors have for a battle-cry the words: "Be heroes; O inhabitants of Zoghar"; ² the cave of Genesis xix. 30 with a great grotto at Sarmûj (71 f., 75); the adjacent villages Khanzîreh and Ḥâbel (the former on the main road from the Ghor eş-Şafîyeh and Ḥebbron to Kerak) with the Crusaders' *casalia* of Cansir and Hable, "in the land of Crac" (72, 75); and the neighbouring Tar'în with Tharais of the Mâdaba map (258, 262). Farther west near the Roman road is Môteh, the scene of the first encounter of Moslem troops with Roman (Byzantine) and their defeat.³

Again on the plateau to the east of Kerak and the Roman road the following sites are important: Ftiyân (above the W. es-Sultâni, here called el-Mkhêres) with command of the communication between north and south, and close to it the Roman fortress el-Lejjûn (29, 142 f., etc.); on the road thence to Kerak, Khirbet Ader, with its remarkable monoliths (27); and further south among others Jâzûr, el-Moreygha, Middîn, Dât-Râs, with numerous but fast disappearing ruins on a site commanding the surrounding plain as well as the main Roman road (79 ff., 322 ff.), it is the Thorma of the "Itinerary"; and to the east of this Mḥayy, "the greatest fortress I have seen in S.E. Moab," for which Ptolemy's Moka is suggested with a query.

Not the least interesting parts of Herr Musil's books are

¹ P. 75 n. 9; "the meaning of both names is identical [?] and also the situation suits" Isa. xv. 5 f. and Jer. xlvi. 5, 34.

² Pp. 70, 74 n. 4, where he adds the epithet Isa. xv. 5, צֶעַר עִגְלֹת שֶׁל־שִׁיָּה, may be borrowed from the celebrated breed of cattle in the Ghôr eş-Şafîyeh.

³ Musil suggests the Mōthō of Steph. Byz. (152).

those in which he describes the southern boundary of the land, which we have been accustomed to call the Wâdy Aḥsa or Ḥesy. "The southern great rent similar to the Arnon, the Wâdi el-Ḥsa-Ḳerâḥi, receives such short tributaries from the north that it is of no importance for the drainage of Moab." For some twelve kilometres up from its mouth in the Dead Sea it bears the name Seyl el-Ḳerâḥi. Where it issues from the hills lies a ruined town, that which Musil suggests may be Zo'ar;¹ also "the still pretty well preserved Ḳaṣr et-Tûb." As drawn on the map, the valley is here of some breadth (about a kilometre) between high hills, and at 12 kilometres from its mouth, already 60 metres above sea-level. Along the banks of the stream are poplars and willows. From here it bears the name Seyl el-Ḥsa.² Six kilometres further up at Feleḳa, it is a gorge whose southern wall is 755 m. high. Where the Roman and the present Sultâni roads from Dât-Râs wind down to cross the stream (already 470 m. above sea-level) the depth of the gorge is about 600 m. The Sultâni road is impassable for heavily laden camels, and caravans coming up from Edom prefer the Roman road or wind to the east by Gharandel to the Hajj road: a fact to be kept in mind in determining the itinerary of Israel. Twelve kilometres east from the Sultâni road the depth of the valley is still 300 m., and the hills on both sides form "an impenetrable wall." Then they "grow gradually less till they are lost in the plain of the Hajj road" (83, 84). Below this is the 'Ain el-Bzê'iyye, said to be the only running water between el-Kerak and Ma'ân, and therefore frequented by the caravans which have avoided the gorge lower down. Close to the Hajj road the "valley bed is pretty broad, level, and in parts marshy, the edges grown with bush and shrubs, among which are found almost everywhere waterpools of a pecu-

¹ See above.

² Once Musil gives it as Hsi (p. 320): Doughty (i. 26), Hâsy.

liarily red colour.”¹ The colour naturally reminds us of the waters which Moab saw from their border, when they went out to meet the Israelite invasion in Elisha’s day : *the water on the other side as red as blood.*² Where the caravan road crosses the marshy W. el-Ḥsa, there are “the remains of an old bridge” (84). Doughty says : “we came down on a causey with a little bridge made for the camels’ passage over the slippery loam, to our encampment in W. el-Hâsy, which divides the uplands of Moab and Edom : a sandy seyl-strand or torrent, shelving out of the wilderness . . . it is a wild garden of rose-laurel and rushes, but from whence they brought again only water putrefying with the staling of the nomad’s camels . . . Here were many wild boars, ravagers of the corn plots of the Kella soldiery ; the brook below breaks from the oozy bed of the wâdy.” At the Kal’at el-Ḥsa (767 m. above sea-level) the wâdy divides into two branches, one running up eastwards, the other south-east. On a branch of the latter is the Ghadîr el-Jinz, gatherings of rain-water on “a green over-grown plain” (316 f.), a famous watering-place of the Arabs.

There is no space to describe Herr Musil’s discoveries in the treeless desert, east of the Hajj road ; his determination of the watershed between the land of Moab draining to the Dead Sea and the desert beyond draining to the Wâdy Sirḥan ; his descriptions of el-Kharâni, Kuseyr ‘Amra and Kaṣr et-Tûba, the Ghassanide castles and palaces in whose vaulted buildings he sees an imitation of the Bedawee tent. The last-named is fully described, with its fine wall-paintings, in the large and sumptuous work cited in the preceding article.

Nor is there space for more than an enumeration of some of Herr Musil’s many contributions to ethnology and the

¹ Poisonous according to Musil’s guide (83).

² 2 Kings iii. 21 f.

history of religion. He illustrates the sick Job's *sitting in ashes* ¹ from the custom in Mâdaba of carrying invalids to the ash-heaps round the town to take the air (115, 123); and Elisha's making of ditches in the desert which filled with water ² by the Ghudrân or water-holes made by the Arabs at the present day (308, 368, 381). The sudden and violent changes of temperature in the desert between day and night are emphasized (310, 312); ³ the sudden risings of water in the dry torrent beds (85), which other travellers report; the jealous reservation and guard of cisterns by the Arabs, (132, etc.); the employment of fellahin by the Arabs in the cultivation of lands; ⁴ the hospitalities and blood-feuds of the Bedouin; the choking of wells and cisterns by masses of putrefying locusts (143, 146, etc.); and the fact that the Hajj caravans are more for business than pilgrimage (40).⁵ In the Kāl'at el-Hsa he found two boys of twelve and fifteen years of age,⁶ who "after supper, brought their Rbâba, and kept us awake long into the night by the melancholy airs of this primitive instrument, and the monotonous delivery of their songs. I wondered at their memory, for they knew by heart many poems, interesting for the history of single tribes." Of the religion of both the peasants and the nomads Herr Musil describes interesting traits and practices: the sacrifice of a goat on the roof of a new house at Rabba (372); the sacrifice of animals when the goats give bitter milk (137); invocations to Solomon the son of David to render certain waters healing; and offerings and sacrifices with feasts to that great controller of evil spirits (91).

All these details, and they might easily be multiplied, will serve to show how useful Herr Musil's volume must prove

¹ Job ii. 8.

² 2 Kings iii. 8-20.

³ Cf. Gen. xxxi. 40.

⁴ The fellahin, it is interesting to note, come from as far away as Hebron and Nablus to cultivate lands for the Shûr and other nomad tribes (106, 252, etc.).

⁵ This is also noted by Doughty.

⁶ Its only garrison!

to the student of the Bible as well as to the geographer and the ethnologist. One is glad to see that all the ethnological materials which he has collected are to be published in a separate volume.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

ETERNAL LIFE AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

THE Collect for Peace which is said daily at Morning Prayer in churches of the Anglican communion begins, "O God, who art the author of peace and lover of concord, in knowledge of whom standeth our eternal life." The original Latin of the latter clause, in the Gelasian Sacramentary, *quem nosse vivere . . . est*, was expanded by the English translators so as to make unmistakable the reference to the words of our Lord in St. John xvii. 3, "This is life eternal, that they should know thee the only true God." This text was also made use of by the same divines when they were composing a new collect for St. Philip and St. James's Day, the introductory address of which is, "O Almighty God, whom truly to know is everlasting life." In the prayer originally composed for the use of Trinity College, Dublin, probably by Archbishop Laud, and now found slightly altered in the Church of Ireland Prayer Book, "To be used in Colleges and Schools," addressing our Lord Jesus Christ as "the Eternal Wisdom of the Father," we say, "We beseech thee to assist us with thy heavenly Grace, that we may be blessed in our studies this day, and above all things may attain the knowledge of thee, whom to know is life eternal." For our Lord in the passage from which I have quoted co-ordinates as elements of eternal life two items of personal knowledge: the knowledge of God the Father, and the knowledge of Him whom the Father sent, even Jesus Christ.

I have called attention to the echoes in the Anglican

Prayer Book of the words of our Lord in St. John xvii. 3, because they supply a justification, if such were needed, for an attempt by one who is not a metaphysician to explain the passage for the benefit of those to whom the prayers are familiar, but who may be unskilled in philosophy. This seventeenth chapter of St. John's Gospel has been called the Holy of Holies of Scripture. In it the Evangelist reproduces what it was possible for a merely human mind to record of a prayer of the Divine Man to His heavenly Father. It is then naturally a chapter difficult to understand, but it has been written for our instruction ; it deals with eternal life ; and all that we can learn about eternal life concerns us very nearly. I have said that the chapter has been called a Holy of Holies ; this is not strictly true, for it lies open for us to enter ; but it is a Holy Place into which those who desire to enter to any purpose must first have purified themselves.

"This is life eternal, that they should know thee." It may help us towards a better understanding of what these words mean if we first make clear what they do not mean. We read in 2 Timothy ii. 18 of "men who concerning the truth have erred, saying that the resurrection is past already." There can be little doubt that the false teaching here alluded to was akin to, if not the same as, that of some in Corinth a few years earlier who said, "There is no resurrection of the dead" (1 Cor. xv. 12). What these persons meant was that the language of Jesus about eternal life and a resurrection received its complete fulfilment in our present conditions of existence in the acquisition of that more elevated knowledge of God and man and morality and spiritual existence generally which Christ and His coming had imparted to mankind. This sublimest knowledge of things divine is, they said, a resurrection, and the only resurrection that men can attain unto.

This is eternal life, and it is the fullest eternal life that can fall to the lot of man.

The false teachers of the apostolic age, like those of many an age since, combined a plausible but false spirituality or sentimentality with an invincible materialism ; and they attempted to find support for their materialistic disbelief in the resurrection of the body in a perverse misunderstanding of the Christian language about "newness of life."

We need not have recourse to the Fourth Gospel to prove that the message of Christ and His Apostles to the world was a message of life. In the second recorded speech of St. Peter after the Day of Pentecost, we find this magnificent paradox : "Ye . . . killed the Prince (or Author) of life" (Acts iii. 15) ; when the angel of the Lord brings the Apostles out of the prison, he charges them, "Go ye, and stand and speak in the temple to the people all the words of this Life" ; and more striking still is the language, constantly found, in which an analogy is drawn between the risen life of Jesus, the heavenly conditions into which His human nature entered on the first Easter Day, and the changed manner of life which ought to characterize those who believe on Him. Thus St. Paul, addressing the Colossians, says, "Having been buried with him in baptism, wherein ye were also raised with him through faith in the working of God, who raised him from the dead" (Col. ii. 12). And again, "If then ye were raised together with Christ, seek the things that are above" (Col. iii. 1).

It is easy to see how metaphorical language such as this could be plausibly wrested from its true significance by persons who combined a patronizing admiration for the ethical teaching of the Gospel with a reluctance, or perhaps an incapacity, to "trust the larger hope" of personal individual immortality, which is what we Christians mean when we speak of eternal life.

There are still in the world, perhaps there always have been, and always will be, representatives of those who said in St. Paul's time, "The resurrection is past already," men who say that eternal life is nothing beyond a present knowledge of God; they "keep the word of promise to our ear and break it to our hope," taking a sad pleasure—for it cannot give them real satisfaction—in encouraging and seeking grounds for their despair of themselves and of mankind.

Now we have to observe in the first place that St. John, writing for Christians who believed in a blessed hereafter for themselves and their fellow-believers, sets forth in its initial and perfect stages the new life in Christ in terms that no Christian can misunderstand. Our new life begins here; St. John, then, records that Jesus said, "He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgement, but hath passed out of death into life" (John v. 24). But our new life does not end here; and so we learn that Jesus said, "He that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal" (John xii. 25), and, "This is the will of my Father, that every one that beholdeth the Son, and believeth on him, should have eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" (John vi. 40).

Again, the verse itself which is under discussion, when read in the original, suggests quite plainly that the knowledge of God and of Jesus Christ which are declared to constitute eternal life is a continually growing knowledge, "always advancing." This is conveyed in the Greek in a way which it is impossible to reproduce in English except by a lengthy paraphrase. "This is life eternal, that they should know thee," etc. Bishop Westcott in his comment on the verse notes: "The *that* (*ὅτι*) expresses an aim, an end, and not only a fact. So too the tense of the verb (*γινώσκωσι*) marks continuance, progress, and not a perfect and past

apprehension gained once for all. . . . Eternal life lies not so much in the possession of a completed knowledge, as in the striving after a growing knowledge." The conclusion, then, seems to be forced on us that if the knowledge of God be a continually developing, advancing apprehension of Him, the eternal life with which it is closely identified must also be a continually developing, advancing existence, not one that is measured by a few revolutions of the earth planet.

And this, I think, will appear still more evident from reflection on the notions about knowledge and life that are entertained by ordinary people. In the passage with which we are dealing the two greatest mysteries with which man can be confronted—eternal life and the knowledge of God—are set before us ; they are brought into connexion with each other ; they are declared to be closely related to each other ; and in some sort one is defined by the other : " eternal life is that they should know thee, the only true God."

We may perhaps find it easier to grasp this definition, or statement, if we begin by reducing the scale of the things spoken of ; and in place of talking of *eternal* life and the knowledge of *God*, ask ourselves, Is there any connexion between knowledge and life ? The question is no doubt a hard one ; but it is not for us, in this case, quite so vague as it might seem to be at first sight. We must note in the first place that we are concerned, not with life in general, nor even only with organic life, but with the life of human personalities, and those too not low down in the scale of existence, the life of the men and women who have been given to Jesus Christ by God the Father. Our Lord had just addressed His Father thus : " Thou gavest him [the Son] authority over all flesh, that whatsoever thou hast given him, to them he should give eternal life." Those who are given by the Father to the Son are they whose eternal life is the knowledge of the true God and of Jesus Christ. The

life, then, of which we are speaking is the life of human beings whom Jesus Christ considered to be the highest of God's creatures—Christian people, in fact. We are therefore relieved from the necessity of grappling with biological problems. Moreover, we are speaking of personal life as it is understood by ordinary people. The gospel has a meaning for those who are not metaphysicians, though we readily grant that it has a deeper and fuller meaning for those who are masters of thought.

I think that the ordinary man might be willing to accept as a definition of life, "the conscious exercise of his vital and mental and moral faculties." We do not regard that man as fully alive who has lost his reason, even though his body continues to discharge in a healthy way all its natural functions. Similarly, if the moral perceptions have become deadened by neglect, we hold that the man has, even apart from what are called religious considerations, missed much of a true life. Our ideal of life is the exercise in the highest degree of all our powers and faculties.

'Tis life, whereof our nerves are scant,
Oh life, not death, for which we pant;
More life, and fuller, that I want.

However this may differ from the aspirations of the Oriental mind, and however ready the Church ought to be to welcome what India and China and Japan may in the future contribute to Christian theology, we Westerners would commit intellectual and moral suicide if we were to be false to the ideals which have led us hitherto; we are bound to be true to the ideal of personal individual life, the enormous value of each separate soul of man, belief in which, in the providence of God, has placed us in the van of human progress, and which has been enunciated by Jesus Himself: "What doth it profit a man, to gain the whole world, and forfeit his life?" (St. Mark viii. 36).

It is not necessary, in an argument addressed to Christians, to attempt to prove that our highest powers and faculties are those of our moral nature ; but our moral nature, its life, has to do with the knowledge of persons, knowledge of moral principles as they affect other persons endowed with moral natures like our own ; this is, moreover, a knowledge that grows with growing experience. The highest type of life, then, has an intimate connexion with knowledge ; and if knowledge varies in dignity and value and possibilities of extension with the dignity, worth and range of its object, the mind cannot conceive of any limit to a life the “ chief end ” of which is, to use the noble words of the Shorter Catechism, “ to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever.”

Men wander into a maze of error from which there is no escape if they fail to perceive at the outset that knowledge of God is knowledge of a personal Being ; it is not like knowledge of facts, or of natural laws, or of mathematical processes. With all the astonishing means now in the hands of mankind for taking a wide and distant survey of space and ascertaining the nature of other world-systems, personality still baffles chemical analysis ; and the highest personality of all, God, remains as unknowable by human senses as in the days of Job :

Behold, I go forward, but he is not there ;
 And backward, but I cannot perceive him ;
 On the left hand, when he doth work, but I cannot behold him :
 He hideth himself on the right hand, that I cannot see him.
 But he knoweth the way that I take.

(Job xxiii. 8-10).

“ But he knoweth the way that I take.” We know that we are known. All that our unassisted intellects can attain to in their Babel building is to know that God knows us ; and so to say with the Psalmist, “ In thy presence is fulness of joy ” (Ps. xvi. 11), or else to tremble with guilty Felix

when conscience reasons with us “of righteousness, and temperance, and the judgement to come.”

That the knowledge of God is essentially a consciousness of standing in a personal relation to Him was clearly enough perceived by the ancient Hebrews; but although their sacred poetry has been with great truth described as “a poetry of friendship between God and man,”¹ yet the foundation of their practical religion was the fear of God. In their appeal to the average man knowledge of God as a person meant fear of Him; and the practical expression of it was justice and mercy to men as being fellow-subjects of the Great King. Thus when Jeremiah is denouncing the degenerate rulers of Judah, he contrasts them with Josiah: “He judged the cause of the poor and needy. . . . Was not this to know me? saith the Lord” (Jer. xxii. 16).

This was much; it is a good deal even now; but Jesus Christ “shewed a still more excellent way” when He revealed the personal God as a Father; and thenceforth man’s knowledge of God is grateful love to a heavenly Father, which finds its practical expression in love to others, our brothers and sisters in the family of God. Hear how St. Paul declares what is the scope of our knowledge: “If any man thinketh that he knoweth anything, he knoweth not yet as he ought to know; but if any man loveth God, the same is known of him” (1 Cor. viii. 2, 3). Similarly, when he reminds the Galatians, “Ye have come to know God,” he corrects himself and adds, “or rather to be known of God” (Gal. iv. 9). St. John characteristically gives us the complementary practical expression of this knowledge of God: “We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren” (1 John iii. 14).

As Christians, then, we have advanced in knowledge of God from fear of Him to love of Him. This our love to God

¹ Herder, quoted by Perowne, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 67.

is knowledge "in part." We are no longer bondservants, but children in our Father's house; yet children still. We shall grow up some day, and "know even as also we have been known" (1 Cor. xiii. 12). Meantime we do well to remind ourselves, and proclaim to the world, that our advance from fear to love is based on a fact of which our intellects can take knowledge; for although the Father, "dwelling in light unapproachable," still eludes the grasp of man's intellect, yet our knowledge that He is our Father rests on an ascertainable fact in the world's history. "We know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we may know him that is true, and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life."

NEWPORT J. D. WHITE.

THE POTTER'S FIELD.

SIR W. RAMSAY, whose studies on the Acts of the Apostles and vindication of the trustworthiness of St. Luke are so admirable, remarks, that St. Luke had means of knowing the later events of his history with an accuracy wanting as regards the earlier, where he was dependent upon others. This is obvious. But if St. Luke has established a right in one part of the Acts to be regarded as trustworthy and painstaking, having a clear grasp of principles, and of the relative value of events, so as to select his materials with judgment, we must give him credit for something of these qualities in the earlier part of his work, and this the more because, as Sir W. Ramsay admits, the entire plan of the narrative, concentrating attention on the successive critical steps, is "thoroughly Lukan." We may, in fact, apply to the early part

of the Acts what Sir W. Ramsay says of St Luke's work in general :¹ "Since in every case where St. Luke's use of his written authorities can be tested, he is found to employ them carefully, and report them accurately, surely it would be quite justifiable to generalize the principle, that in other cases where we do not know the original words that Luke had before him, and worked up in his history, he presents an accurate report of their meaning."

Nevertheless Sir Wiliam's treatment of the early chapters of the Acts violates his own principle, for, without assigning any reason except that in his opinion the account of the death of Judas by St. Matthew conflicts with that given in the Acts, he speaks of St. Luke's² "admission of second-rate incidents that have done his reputation injury." As an example of this he takes the speech of St. Peter as reported in Acts i.

This I propose to examine briefly. In the Revised Version the account of the death of Judas, as given in this speech, is placed within brackets, and reads as if it might be an explanation inserted by St. Luke himself ; but when we refer to the Greek it is evidently part of St. Peter's speech. Is there, then, any reason to think that the report of this speech is not trustworthy ? I see none. The moment was critical. The event was one to rivet attention. It was when St. Peter took the leading part which he held throughout the first half of St. Luke's history. The action, too, to which his speech led was of the first importance : the election of a successor to the traitor Judas. If St. Luke found many records available for use when he began to write his Gospel, it would be extraordinary if no record had been made of the first action of the disciples after the Ascension, and that one of such importance.

¹ Paper read before the Victoria Institute, April 22, 1907.

² *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 367.

We may, then, take it for granted that the speech of St. Peter is authentic and given with tolerable accuracy. Was he mistaken, then, as to the facts? That is scarcely possible. There is nothing in his account that was not easily within his knowledge, that Judas had purchased a field with his ill-gotten gains, his miserable death, and the name given to the scene of the tragedy by the dwellers at Jerusalem. If it be necessary, as Sir W. Ramsay thinks, to choose between the story in the Acts and that given by St. Matthew, I should certainly give the preference to the former, which was told by one on the spot, and within six or seven weeks of the event.

But are we reduced to the necessity of rejecting either of the accounts? I think not. Most of the difficulty about them has arisen from misinterpretations, and not from inaccuracies in the stories. For example, it has been taken for granted that St. Peter says that Judas bought the field with the thirty pieces of silver. But he says no such thing, nor was the thing possible. In the first place, Judas never had the money in his hands for more than a few hours; he never parted with it till in a sudden fit of remorse he threw it at the High Priest's feet. In the next place, there was not time between his receipt of the money and his suicide to carry out the purchase, even if the bargain had been struck already. In fact, that any one, even Judas himself, in all the agitation and excitement of those few hours, could have done what he is supposed to have done is incredible. We may on this point accept with absolute confidence the account of St. Matthew, that Judas as soon as he saw that Jesus was condemned repented. The purchase of the field could not by any possibility have taken place then, it must have been made before. And is there any reason why it should not have been before? The only ground for thinking otherwise is that Judas is said to have bought

it with the "reward of iniquity," which is supposed to mean the price of the betrayal.

But St. Peter does not call it "the price of blood," and says nothing as to its amount. Moreover, as Judas was the purse bearer and a thief, he did not need to wait for the paltry price of blood to make the purchase, and the money that he stole from the Master and his brother disciples was aptly enough called by St. Peter "the wages of iniquity." Thus St. Peter's account obliges us to conclude that Judas had bought the field before the betrayal. In that case we have a light thrown upon the betrayal. The purchase of the field shows that Judas had definitely made up his mind to desert Christ. Whether it was that he was afraid that his thefts from the common purse were in danger of being found out, or that, with sharper insight than the other apostles, he rightly apprehended our Lord's plainly expressed anticipations of approaching disaster, he began to feather his nest in preparation for the worst. Hence his unconcealed disgust at the waste of ointment worth 300 pence, which might have come into his money-bag. Hence his grasping at the paltry thirty pieces of silver which were all the authorities would give. A man like Judas would be quick to read the signs of the times where his own interests were concerned. If he had ever been an enthusiast and sincere, his enthusiasm had expired. The signs of the times could be read by any one of ordinary observation. The open hostility of the rulers, the agitation and foreboding of Christ Himself, showed that all was up so far as any prospect of worldly success was concerned, and Judas determined to lose no time in leaving the sinking ship.

But though St. Peter knew that Judas owned the field, and also knew of his suicide which had already given it the name of evil omen, he could not at that time have known that the priests would buy it, or what price they would give.

It is St. Matthew who tells of their purchase, and that they employed the "price of blood" for the purpose. He says they "took counsel," which implies some little delay. The price, "thirty pieces of silver," was extraordinarily small for a plot of even waste ground close to the city; but that is accounted for by the ill name it had got from the tragical suicide committed there. After the purchase the evil name adhered still to the spot, though naturally enough it became associated with the fact of the purchase money being blood money. That St. Matthew wrote some time after the event is evident from the expression, "Wherefore that field was called the field of blood unto this day." It was indeed doubly "the field of blood" then, first as the scene of the traitor's death, and next as having been bought by the "price of blood." St. Peter's silence as to the purchase by the priests as a burial ground is accounted for by the fact that he spoke some time before that transaction; indeed, he does not seem to have known then the sum for which Judas had made the betrayal.

With regard to the death of Judas, the difference between St. Matthew and the Acts is of no real importance, nor does it seem as if they must necessarily conflict. Any one who considers how frequently would-be suicides have blundered in their attempt, through nervous agitation and the agony of a disordered mind, can scarcely wonder that Judas should have miscalculated in his attempt and so fallen headlong and perished, as St. Peter describes. In any case, both accounts agree that his treachery was speedily followed by his miserable death.

In estimating the value of St. Luke's sources, both for his Gospel and for that part of the Acts in which the scene is laid in Palestine, "we must take into account that he had travelled in Palestine as early as A.D. 57, and had met the leaders of the Church in Jerusalem, that he was two

years in Caesarea in close relations with the Church there,"¹ so that he had every opportunity of obtaining the most accurate information; and the probability is that the Gospel and the early part of the Acts were, so to speak, written on the spot.

W. SHERLOCK.

THE HELVIDIAN *VERSUS* THE EPIPHANIAN HYPOTHESIS.

IN my former article, which appeared in the July Number, I considered this question in the light of what may be gathered from Scripture. In my edition of St. James I had summed up the results of my earlier investigation of the subject in the words (p. xxxvi.): "Even if the language of the Gospels had been entirely neutral in this matter, it would surely have been a piece of high presumption on our part to assume that God's providence must always follow the lines suggested by our notions of what is seemly; but when every conceivable barrier has been placed in the way of this interpretation . . . can we characterize it otherwise than as a contumacious setting up of an artificial tradition above the written word, if we insist upon it that brother must mean not brother, but either cousin or one who is no blood-relation at all, that first-born does not imply other children subsequently born, that the limit fixed to separation does not imply subsequent union?" My critic in the *Church Quarterly* (vol. lxvi, p. 81) meets this statement with the *argumentum ad verecundiam*: "When such a sweeping condemnation includes names pre-eminent for the furtherance of our Biblical knowledge, such as Lightfoot, Westcott, and Hort, the present Bishop of Birmingham, and Canon Liddon, the charge becomes little short of ludicrous." It is hardly necessary for me

¹ Sir W. Ramsay, paper read before the Victoria Institute.

to say that my argument was impersonal. I had no idea of throwing scorn on great names, whether among those who are still living, or those who have passed away. I was simply pointing out the responsibility of one who acknowledged the facts, but refused to draw the necessary conclusion from them. Of the five names mentioned, the three which stand first were names of men well known to me ; Lightfoot, and especially Hort, were among my oldest and dearest friends. It was mainly from them, and from another friend of an earlier generation, Professor John Grote,¹ that I imbibed the principles enshrined in two famous maxims of antiquity: *Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas*, and *Non tam auctoritates in disputando quam rationis momenta quaerenda sunt. Quin etiam obstat plerumque eis qui discere volunt auctoritas eorum qui se docere profitentur ; desinunt enim suum iudicium adhibere, id habent ratum quod ab eo quem probant iudicatum vident.* It is just when the force of public opinion is going most strongly in one direction, that the man who believes it to be mistaken is most bound to give his reasons for that particular aspect of the truth, the defence of which he feels to have been committed to his own charge. Whether he is right or wrong, it can only serve the cause of truth and help to bring about its ultimate triumph, if he does his best to give their due weight to the arguments which have led him to adopt the conclusion he advocates. For myself, I can sincerely say that the further consideration of the question has not only confirmed me in the opinion formed more than sixteen years ago, but that I believe Bishop Lightfoot would have come to the same conclusion if the same considerations had been laid before him.

My critic, whom, as being entirely unknown to me, I

¹ See his *Exploratio Philosophica*, especially the admirable chapter on the Right and Duty of Private Judgment, contained in vol. ii. pp. 271-83.

have denoted by the letter X, assumes that Westcott and Hort favoured the Epiphanian view. I do not remember that I ever heard either of them express an opinion upon the subject; certainly the references adduced by X are anything but conclusive. He says this preference is implied, in the case of Hort, by a phrase which occurs in *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 148: "He who was known as the Lord's brother." But surely this can only imply a wish to avoid all disputable matter: every one would assent to such a description of St. James. Westcott, in his note on the words "His brethren" in John ii. 12, hesitatingly accepts Lightfoot's conclusion in words which do not suggest any special investigation on his own part:—"Most probably the sons of Joseph by a former marriage. See an exhaustive essay by Dr. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, Essay 2." It is just the language I should myself have used after reading the essay, had I not been compelled to go more fully into the subject in preparing my edition of St. James.

I proceed now to consider what light we may gather from tradition upon this subject. X asserts that "but for the intrusion of St. Jerome's theory in the latter part of the fourth century, the value of the traditional belief could hardly have been called in question." "But the original tradition, which did no more than assert that the brethren were sons of Joseph by a former wife, should be carefully distinguished from the Epiphanian presentation of it" (p. 92). In a note he says: "Professor Mayor begins by putting the origin of the Epiphanian theory towards the close of the second century, and recognizes a tradition on the point from then, 'till it was unceremoniously driven out of the field by Jerome.' Yet in his next paragraph he says: 'Historical tradition, therefore, on this subject there was properly none when Jerome wrote, any more than there is now.'"

The guarded language of the last sentence is sufficient to show that a contrast is intended between tradition in the loose sense, and historical tradition strictly speaking. And this contrast would have been more apparent if X had given the exact words of the prior quotation, "we have seen that, *so far as we can speak of a tradition on the subject*, it was in favour of the Epiphanian theory, etc." This distinction is more clearly marked in the fuller discussion contained in p. xxviii. of my edition of St. James. It is said there that, "in our investigation of any so-called tradition, it is of the utmost importance to be on our guard against mistaking manufactured or literary tradition, like that which has grown up round the scenes of many of Scott's romances, for the actual recollection of fact, handed down orally from father to son, or crystallized in literature at some stage of its progress."

I shall now endeavour to show, in opposition to X, not that Hegesippus has not recorded many valuable traditions—I believe he has—but that there was no original historical tradition to the effect that the Brethren were sons of Joseph by a former marriage. The belief rests on two pillars, sentiment and apocryphal fiction, the latter being itself an offshoot of the pre-existing sentiment. This appears from the language used by Jerome and Basil in the fourth century, by Origen in the third, by Clement of Alexandria at the end of the second; nay, it may be inferred from what is said by Epiphanius himself.

In his *Comment. in Matth.* xii 49, Jerome speaks with scorn of the upholders of the Epiphanian view, as "following the ravings of the apocryphal writings, and inventing *quandam Melcham vel Escam mulierculam*, as Joseph's first wife. Similarly, in his answer to Helvidius (c. 17) he contrasts the appeal to later authorities with the appeal to Scripture, in the words *Verum nugas terimus et fonte*

veritatis omisso opinionum rivulos consecramur. He pleads also sentiment in favour of his own view, as extending the range of virginity to Joseph as well as to Mary. On the other hand, Basil the Great is reckoned among Epiphanians by Lightfoot, because he quotes a story about Zacharias which seems to be taken from the *Protevangelium*, where this view is strongly maintained. In the same passage, while announcing his own belief in the perpetual virginity, "since the lovers of Christ cannot bear to hear that the mother of God ever ceased to be a virgin," Basil, nevertheless, allows that it is not a necessary article of Christian belief.

Origen, however, is the writer who brings out the two sides most strongly in his *Comment. in Matth.* tom. x. 17 (Lomm. iii. p. 45). "Some persons, on the ground of the tradition contained in the Gospel according to Peter or the book of James (the *Protevangelium*) affirm that the brothers of Jesus were Joseph's sons by a former wife. Those who hold this view wish to preserve the honour of Mary in virginity to the end, in order that her body, once chosen for so high a purpose, might not be degraded to lower use after the Holy Spirit had come upon her . . . and I think it reasonable that, as Jesus was the firstfruit of purity among men, so Mary should be among women."¹ Here it is to be observed that Origen does not say this opinion is held by all, or most, or by the orthodox; it is simply held *by some*. And the ground on which they hold it is distinctly said to be its assertion in two apocryphal books, the Gospel of Peter, which (as we know from the portion which has been recently recovered) was tinged with the Docetic heresy, and the *Protevangelium*, of which

¹ X's comment on this passage is, "We would like to know whether in so speaking Origen was, as Bishop Lightfoot denied, merely giving sympathetic utterance to an apocryphal fancy, or whether from the basis of a well accredited fact he was tentatively eliciting, with characteristic suggestiveness, the spiritual significance of Blessed Mary's vocation."

more hereafter. Their motive for following these authorities is merely subjective: they wish to do honour to the Virgin; and Origen professes his agreement with them on even less substantial ground. In another passage, which has been preserved in the *Catena Corder*. (Lomm. vol. iii. p. 45, n. 3) Origen (or the Catenist) simply gives his conclusion without stating his reasons: "It has been much discussed," he says, "how we are to understand the phrase Brethren of the Lord, since Mary had no other child but Jesus. The explanation is that they were legally brothers, being sons of Joseph by a former wife."

Origen's teacher, Clement, is an exception to most of the Fathers in his feeling as to celibacy. He distinctly says (*Strom.* vii. p. 874) that marriage is superior to virginity; but apparently his delight in allegory led him to accept the story of the *Protevangelium*. Thus in his notes on the epistle of Jude he speaks of him as son of Joseph, and in *Strom.* vii. p. 890 he refers to Salome as evidence of the miraculous birth (cf. *Protev.* c. 20), though he allows that this was not the usual view. I quote the translation of *Strom.* l.c. given in the edition of Hort and Mayor: "But just as most people even now believe, as it seems, that Mary ceased to be a virgin through the birth of her child, though this was not really the case—for some say that she was found by the midwife to be a virgin after her delivery—so we find it to be with the Scriptures, which bring forth the truth and yet remain virgins, hiding within them the mysteries of the truth. 'She has brought forth and has not brought forth' says the Scripture (i.e. pseudo-Ezekiel), speaking as one who had conceived of herself and not from another. Wherefore the Scriptures are pregnant to the true gnostics, but the heresies, not having examined them, dismiss them as barren." See also *Paed.* i. p. 123, and Zahn, l.c. p. 309 foll.

Epiphanius is the earliest patristic authority for the legendary story of the Holy Family. In the previous article I pointed out how he endeavoured to force the language of the Gospels to suit his own theory. Here I shall deal with his additions to Scripture and the grounds on which he asks our assent to them. In *Haer.* lxxix. c. 5, p. 1062, he refers to the History and Traditions of Mary as his authority for the story of her parents, Joachim and Anna, and in *Haer.* lxxviii. c. 7, p. 1038, he ascribes the recent attack on the Perpetual Virginity to ignorance of Scripture and a want of familiarity with histories (*ἱστορίαις*). "What this history of Mary was," says Bishop Pearson, "or of what authority these traditions were, we cannot learn out of Epiphanius." But when we find the *Protevangelium*, which was probably written 200 years before Epiphanius, and which contains most of his additions to Scripture, such as those relating to the age and previous marriage of Joseph, beginning with the words ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τῶν δώδεκα φυλῶν ἦν Ἰωακεὶμ πλούσιος σφόδρα, and when another apocryphal Gospel is entitled *Historia de Joachim et Anna et de nativitate Beatae Dei genetricis*, it is natural to suppose that these were among the sources referred to by Epiphanius.

X thinks he had a more trustworthy guide in Hegesippus, from whom he seems to have borrowed the account of the martyrdom of St. James (mentioned in my last article), though not without adding to it the ascription to him of the supreme merit of virginity. The testimony of Hegesippus is certainly important from the distinction he draws between the relationship of *brother* in the case of James, and *cousin* in the case of Symeon, the son of the Lord's uncle Clopas, which disposes of the Hieronymian theory; but the only support that Lightfoot (*Gal.* p. 277) could extract from Hegesippus for the Epiphanian theory is

found in the words quoted by Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 19 and 20 :
 "There still remained members of the Lord's family, grandsons of Jude, *who was called his brother according to the flesh*" (τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ). Lightfoot understands this to mean that "the brotherhood of these brethren, like the fatherhood of Joseph, was reputed, but not real." But why may we not understand the phrase κατὰ σάρκα in the sense in which it is used in Romans i. 3, περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυεὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης? Christ was, κατὰ σάρκα, son of David, κατὰ πνεῦμα (Luke i. 35) Son of God. So, if Jude were son of Joseph and Mary, he might be called κατὰ σάρκα, but not κατὰ πνεῦμα, brother of Jesus. Compare also Romans ix. 3, τῶν συγγενῶν μου κατὰ σάρκα; Galatians iv. 23, ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης κατὰ σάρκα γεγέννηται (in the common course of nature) ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας (by the promise overriding the common course of nature). See also verse 29, and Ignat. *Smyrn.* i. 1, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, υἱὸν Θεοῦ κατὰ θέλημα καὶ δύναμιν Θεοῦ; also Epiph. *Haer.* lxxvii. p. 1007, τῇ μὲν φύσει καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ λόγος ὢν τοῦ Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ σάρκα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβίδ, *Haer.* lxxviii. p. 1043, εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ ἀληθῶς μητὴρ (ἡ Μαρία), κατὰ σάρκα κυήσασα αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.¹

¹ In the account given by Hegesippus of the martyrdom of James, there is a passage which I think is wrongly understood by X. It is quoted by Eusebius (*H.E.*, iv. 22) μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, and is thus explained by X (p. 95), "St. James suffered on the same charge as the Lord," that is, he "had to endure the same process of false witness, of harassing questioning and stirring up of popular passions, as was pursued in the case of the Lord." And he calls this "a picture very analogous to that enacted in the Praetorium." But ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ could not mean this. Its real meaning is shown by a comparison of the words of James recorded by Hegesippus (Eus. *H.E.*, ii. 23), and those of Christ in Matt. xxvi. 64. In the former we read τί με ἐπερωτᾶτε περὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; καὶ αὐτὸς κἀθήται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ

X, following Lightfoot (*Gal.* p. 279), thinks we may interpret the ambiguous language of Hegesippus by the unhesitating assertions of Epiphanius and Eusebius, who derived their information mainly from him. But can we speak so certainly of Eusebius? The passages quoted by Lightfoot (p. 283), with the exception of that from the disputed treatise *On the Star*, do not seem to me decisive. It is said that, in i. 12 εἰς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων ἀδελφῶν ἦν, and iii. 7, τοῦ Κυρίου χρηματίζων ἀδελφός, James is called the "reputed brother of the Lord because Joseph was his reputed father," but would not this have been also true if James had been the son of Mary and Joseph? The remaining passage (*H.E.* ii. 1) seems to me equally inconclusive.

Supposing, however, that Epiphanius and Eusebius borrowed from Hegesippus the idea of an earlier marriage on the part of Joseph, how is it that Epiphanius never mentions the name of Hegesippus, while Eusebius gives us nothing more than these indefinite allusions? Zahn, in his excellent dissertation on the *Brüder und Vettern Jesu*, points to many passages in which it can be shown that Epiphanius borrows from Hegesippus without naming

δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως, καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, words which were immediately followed by his martyrdom. So in Matthew our Lord answers Caiaphas in the words ἀπ' ἄρτι ὤψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, which were followed by the cry, ἐβλασφήμησεν. . . ἐνοχὸς θανάτου ἐστίν. I think, therefore, it is better to translate ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ either literally "for the same word," or more generally "on the same ground," though I formerly followed Lightfoot in rendering it "charge." The same phrase occurs in the story of the martyrdom of Symeon, who succeeded James as bishop of Jerusalem (*Eus.* iii. 32), ὁ προειρημένος Συμεὼν ὡσαύτως κατηγορήθη καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, where it must be explained by the reference to the grandsons of Jude in the preceding sentence, of whom we are told (in iii. 20) that they were accused before Domitian as descendants of David, and therefore aiming at the sovereignty of Judaea. With this may be compared an earlier sentence in c. 32, where a charge is said to have been laid against Symeon by certain heretics, ὡς ὄντος ἀπὸ Δαβὶδ καὶ Χριστιανοῦ.

him (pp. 258 foll.), the most striking example being that in which he repeats, as an experience of his own (*Haer.* xxvii. 6) what had happened to Hegesippus in the time of Anicetus, more than a hundred years before he was himself born. Sometimes Epiphanius betrays his secret by the use of some word recalling the title of the *ὑπομνήματα* of Hegesippus, much as he refers to the Apocryphal Gospels under the name *ἱστορίαι*. In *Haer.* xxix. 4 he names Eusebius and Clement of Alexandria as authorities for statements which all three writers had derived from Hegesippus, to whom he refers only in a vague *ἄλλοι* or *πολλοὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν*. Why this marked reticence? Zahn (pp. 262, 319) very reasonably suggests that it was because Epiphanius found no support in Hegesippus for the view, which he himself so vehemently advocates, of the relation in which the Brethren stand to Jesus. Perhaps we may consider that this suggestion is confirmed by what Eusebius tells us in *H.E.* iv. 22, viz., that Hegesippus spoke of some of the Apocryphal writings of his time as having been written by heretics. Compare what is said of these in *Constit. Apost.* vi. 16, where the "poisonous apocryphal books are ascribed to wicked heretics who set themselves against the providential ordinance for the procreation of children in marriage." On the other hand, Eusebius tells us in the same passage that Hegesippus quotes from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which was in use among the Ebionites and began, as some say, with the Baptism of John (Zahn, l.c. p. 274).

I proceed now to consider the evidence of Tertullian. We have seen that his contemporary, Clement of Alexandria, while himself holding the view afterwards maintained by Epiphanius, allowed that it was not generally accepted by the Church of his time. Tertullian seems never even to have heard of it. Helvidius had claimed the authority of

Tertullian and Victorinus for the opposite view, that the Brethren were sons of Mary and Joseph. Jerome, in his answer to Helvidius, denied that Victorinus held this view, and challenged the authority of Tertullian as being tainted with the errors of Montanus. Zahn is inclined to think that Jerome is mistaken as to Victorinus, and Lightfoot himself gives examples of the unscrupulous way in which Jerome "piles up his authorities." Happily we can judge for ourselves in the case of Tertullian. Marcion had defended his docetic views by explaining the question "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren?" as equivalent to a negative, proving that Christ was never born and was not really man. To which Tertullian replies, "*Nos contrario dicimus*," that the presence of His mother and His brethren could not have been announced unless He really had a mother and brothers. . . . The words give a just expression to His indignation at the fact that his nearest relations are standing outside, while strangers are intent on His words within (*Adv. Marc.*, iv. 19). Similarly where he treats of the same text in his answer to the Marcionite Apelles, he argues that the words are not inconsistent with the truth of the humanity of Christ. "No one would have told Him that His mother and His brethren stood without, who was not certain that He had a mother and brothers. . . . We are all born, and yet we have not all got either brothers or a mother. We may have a father rather than a mother, or uncles rather than brothers. . . . His brothers had not belived in Him, His mother had been less constant in attendance upon Him than Martha and the other Mary. . . . We may find a picture of the synagogue in His absent mother, of the Jews in His unbelieving brethren, a picture of the Church in the disciples who believed in Him and clung to Him" (*De Carne Christi*, 7). As Tertullian in these passages gives no hint that Christ's

relationship to His brothers was less real than that to His mother, so in other treatises he takes for granted that Mary ceased to be a virgin after the birth of Christ (*De Monogamia*, 8): *Duae nobis antistites Christianae sanctitatis occurrunt, monogamia et continentia. Et Christum quidam virgo enixa est, semel nuptura post partum* ("being about to marry first after her delivery") *ut uterque titulus sanctitatis in Christi sensu dispungeretur per matrem et virginem et univiram*; and in even plainer words (*De Virg. Vel.* 6), where he discusses the meaning of the salutation *benedicta tu inter mulieres*. "Was she called *mulier* and not *virgo* because she was espoused? We need not at any rate suppose a prophetic reference to her future state as a married woman": *non enim poterat posteriorem mulierem nominare, de qua Christus nasci non habebat, id est virum passam, sed illa (illam?) quae erat praesens, quae erat virgo* ("for the angel could not be referring to the wife that was to be; for Christ was not to be born of a wife, i.e. of one who had known a husband, but he referred to her who was in his company at the time, who was a virgin").

Pausing here at the end of the second century, what do we find to be the general belief with respect to that doctrine which Epiphanius regards as the teaching of the Church from the beginning, and the questioning of which he characterizes as the climax of impiety (*Haer.* lxxviii. 33), lately introduced by the insignificant sect of the Antidicomarianites (l.c. chap. 6)? It is apparently unknown in the Churches of Carthage and of Rome, and is only held by a minority in the Church of Alexandria, and, as far as we can judge, was discountenanced in Palestine as early as 160 A.D. by Hegesippus, in whose lifetime it had probably been promulgated for the first time by the author [of the *Protevangeliium*. Moreover we have evidence of the prevalence of a very different view among the Ebionites, a view which was

sometimes combined with mischievous heresies, but which was not in itself condemned with any great severity by Origen and Justin Martyr. The former, in his *Comm. in Matt.*, tom xvi. (Lomm., vol. 4, pp. 37-9) compares the story of Bartimaeus persisting in his prayer to the Son of David, in spite of the opposition of the people of Jericho, to the prayer of the Ebionites (some of whom hold that Christ was son of Mary and Joseph, others that He was born of Mary and the Holy Ghost), in spite of Gentile scorn for the poverty of the Jews. And again, a little below, "You may still hear Gentile Christians, who have been brought up in the faith that Christ was born of a virgin, rebuking τῷ ἐβιωναίῳ καὶ πτωχεύοντι περὶ τὴν εἰς Ἰησοῦν πίστιν, τῷ οἰομένῳ αὐτὸν ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς εἶναι. And yet such a Jew may be crying all the louder, with a true, though not an enlightened faith in Jesus (πιστεύων μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἀνθρωπικώτερον δὲ πιστεύων), 'Thou Son of David, have mercy on me.' " Compare *c. Cels.* v. 61, where two kinds of Ebionites are distinguished, ἧτοι ἐκ παρθένου ὁμολογοῦντες ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἣ οὐχ οὕτω γεγεννησθαι, ἀλλ' ὥς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους. So Justin in his Dialogue (chap. 48), after the Jew Trypho had spoken of the contradiction involved in the idea of a Messiah who was God for all eternity, and yet was born as man on this earth, calls upon him, whatever may be the metaphysical difficulties involved, not to reject the evidence of the birth of a human Messiah; since even among Christians there are some¹ who hold that Christ was ἀνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. Justin says that he could never accept such a view himself, even if it were accepted by the majority of Christians, because it is opposed to the preaching

¹ The MSS. read εἰσὶ τινες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους, which is altered by Zahn and others to ὑμετέρου, much to the damage of the argument as I understand it.

of Christ and of the prophets ; but he seems to recommend it as an intermediate stage for Jews.

For the combination of this feature of Ebionitish error with more virulent forms of heresy I may refer to the accounts given of Cerinthus and Carpocrates in Epiphanius, *Haer.* xxvii. 2, xxviii. 1. If space permitted, I ought here to investigate the contents and the growth of the Apocryphal Gospels, but it may suffice to go back to the very beginning of the story of the Infancy and consider how it may have prepared the way for later developments. If what we read in the first two chapters of St. Luke is worthy of belief, it rests upon the authority of Mary herself. One marked feature of her character is shown in the words, "Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart." To her it was all too sacred, too awful, to be talked about. And it is only natural to suppose that those to whom the secret was necessarily confided, Joseph, Elizabeth, perhaps the beloved disciple in later years, would have felt the same awe. It could only be from a sense of duty that the secret of the Madonna was entrusted to the Church, perhaps at her own death, perhaps when St. John perceived that it was needed to guard against growing error. That there was such a long-continued reticence is proved by the commencement of St. Mark, where he speaks of John's baptism as "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" ; and by the qualification required of the Apostles, to be witnesses of the life of Christ from the baptism of John to the day when He was taken up (Acts i. 33). The same impression would be confirmed by the genealogies, which were eventually incorporated in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, both giving the descent, not of Mary, but of Joseph. We cannot suppose that the early Jewish converts had any knowledge of that portion of Christ's life which preceded the baptism of John, excepting the fact that He was of the family of

David. To them Joseph was the father, and James and Jude the brothers of Jesus, as they appear in the Gospel of St. Mark. To them the day of baptism was more important than the day of birth ; and this feeling would be increased by the addition of the words, from Psalm ii., "This day have I begotten thee" (as shown in some of the early MSS. and Fathers) to the voice from heaven, "Thou art my beloved Son," an addition which might easily give rise to docetic views, such as those of Marcion. Compare also the words of the Jews in John vii. 27, "When the Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence He is."

On the other hand, when once the story of the Infancy and Childhood had been added to the original Christian tradition contained in St. Mark's Gospel, there can be no doubt that it would possess a special attraction for many minds. The Essenes and Therapeutae are said to have encouraged celibacy and asceticism generally, and St. Paul gave his advice against marriage under certain circumstances, though at a later period he sternly condemns the heretics who, like some of the Gnostics afterwards, forbade marriage (1 Tim. iv. 3 ; compare Heb. xiii. 4). On the other hand, a special reward seems to be promised to virgins in Revelation xiv. 4. In my edition of St. James (p. xxxi.) it is stated that the ascetic view "spread rapidly both amongst heretics and orthodox Christians. Of the former, Saturninus, Marcion, the Encratites and the Montanists in the second century are named as depreciating, or actually forbidding marriage among their adherents. Of the latter, evidence may be found in Anaxagoras, *Apol.* 28, εὔροις δ' ἂν πολλοὺς τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καταγρηάσκοντας ἀγάμους ἐλπίδι τοῦ μᾶλλον συνέσεσθαι τῷ Θεῷ ; in such language as that of Cyprian (*Hab. Virg.* 3), *flos est ille ecclesiastici germinis . . . illustrior portio gregis Christi*, ib. 22, *quod futuri sumus, vos jam esse caepistis*

. . . *cum castae perseveratis et virgines, angelis Dei estis aequales* ; and in the rash act by which Origen believed himself to be carrying out the words of Christ (Matt. xix. 12). The same tendency is also noticeable in the neo-Pythagoreans and neo-Platonists. By the end of the third century it began to produce its natural consequence in the institution of celibate communities and the discouragement of marriage among the clergy."

It is evident how this sentiment would be irritated by those who continued to use the old-fashioned language, especially when it was found that the assertors of a purely human birth were also not unfrequently the assertors of a purely human Messiah ; still more when scandalous stories, such as are referred to by Celsus, were spread abroad by unbelieving Jews. It is evident, too, what scope this sentiment would find for its exercise in the marriage of Joseph and Mary ; if it might be assumed, with Epiphanius, that the incorrect use of the word *παρθένος*¹ in rendering Isaiah vii. 14 was to be understood as declarative of perpetual virginity ; if a woman were at liberty to marry without any idea of fulfilling the duties of a wife, nay, with a settled resolution not to fulfil them. It shows to what lengths this sentiment would go when we read, in pseudo-Matthew, *De Nativitate S. Mariae*, chap. 9, that the Angel Gabriel calmed Mary's fears by the words *Ne timeas quasi aliquid contrarium tuae castitati hac salutatione praetexam. Invenisti enim gratiam apud Dominum quia castitatem elegisti. Ideoque virgo sine peccato concipies et paries filium* ; also the words put into the mouth of Mary in the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew, chap. 7, *Elias assumptus est quia carnem suam virginem custodivit* ; Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxviii. 23, "Some have dared to insult the ever-virgin, holy and blessed, by thinking it possible that, after the mystery of

¹ On which see Bishop Gore's *Virgin Birth*.

the Incarnation had been made known to her, she should have consented to cohabit with her husband, καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο πάσης μοχθηρίας δυσσεβέστατον,"; and again in Origen (*Hom. vii. in Luc.*, Lomm., vol. v. 109), *In tantam nescio quis prorupit insaniam ut assereret negatam fuisse Mariam a Salvatore, eo quod post nativitatem illius iuncta fuerit Joseph.*

I agree with Lord A. Hervey, that the various stories which we read in the Apocryphal Gospels about the Holy Family have no claim to be regarded as genuine historical traditions : they are simply attempts of different ages and parties in the early Church to reconcile the narrative of the New Testament with their own fancies and opinions, and to give support, as they imagined, to the miraculous conception. Sometimes they are due mainly to the working of the poetical imagination, brooding over the scanty outlines given in the New Testament, and attempting to picture to itself the early life of Mary, her relations with her husband, the childhood and youth of Jesus, and who and what His brethren were. These imaginations are sometimes touching and beautiful, as in the account of Anna's sadness, where she sits in her garden and bewails her own childless state, while all things round are full of young life ; or the delight of the infant Mary dancing on the steps of the Temple and enjoying daily intercourse with the angels. At other times they can only be characterized as unnatural, useless, odious, utterly misrepresenting the character of Christ. Of the first we have an instance in the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, chap. i., where Jesus in His cradle is represented as saying to Mary, "I, whom you have brought forth, am the Son of God, the Logos ; My Father hath sent Me for the salvation of the world." Of the second we have an instance in the resolution of the priests to remove Mary from the Temple, when she grew up to womanhood, and entrust her to the charge, not of her parents, or of some motherly

woman, but of a widower, to be selected by lot, though, as Joseph objected, he might have grown up sons living in the house with him. Of the third we have an example in the part played by Salome in the *Protevangelium*. Of the fourth in the malicious actions attributed to the child Jesus in the *Gospel of Thomas*.

The dedication of Samuel in the Temple would form a natural model for the dedication of Mary ; and it is plain that, when it was once assumed that Mary had no child but Jesus, the easiest solution of the fact that her eldest son was brought up among brothers and sisters would be to suppose that these were children of Joseph by a former wife. Then, again, the easiest way of accounting for the perpetual virginity was to suppose that Mary herself was under a vow, and that Joseph was an old man who, at the urgent request of the Temple authorities, consented to receive her into his house and give her the protection of his name, as his nominal wife. Lastly, the Apocryphal Gospels are all marked by a childish love of the marvellous, the miracles belonging mainly to a time in which the canonical Gospels report no miracles, nay, positively assert that no miracle was wrought (John ii. 11).

Taking this as a general summary of what we may call the apocryphal tradition, on which Epiphanius built up his belief, it will be worth while to observe how he endeavours to strengthen its foundations, which he evidently feels to be somewhat insecure, and to elaborate its design by new additions of his own. Thus he defends the childish miracles as attesting the divinity of Christ from His birth (*Haer.* li. 20). The name "virgin" implies a permanent quality, like the name "Boanerges" (*Haer.* lxxviii. 6). "Let the romancers, who would make us believe that she had children after the birth of her Firstborn, tell us their names ; they must have lived with her and her Son" (l.c. 9) [an extra-

ordinary inversion of the facts of the case]. Mary did not continue long with the beloved disciple. We hear nothing of her accompanying him to Asia. The Scripture tells us nothing about her ; whether she died, or was buried, or not. This strange silence hides a deep mystery, of which we find a hint in the Apocalypse, where we are told of the woman who brought forth the man-child, and to whom wings were given to bear her to her place in the wilderness (l.c. 11). Science also confirms our faith in the virginity of Mary. We learn from it that the lioness can only bring forth once, and Mary is the mother of the Lion of the tribe of Judah (l.c. 12). Again, Mary was a prophetess, as we learn from Isaiah viii. 3 ; and the gift of prophecy is incompatible with the state of marriage, as we see in the case of Moses, who never begot a child after he began to prophesy ; of the daughters of Philip ; also of Thecla, who broke off her engagement on her conversion (l.c. 16). [Epiphanius forgets Deborah, Huldah, Isaiah, Hosea, Ezekiel.] Mary corresponds to Eve, as the source of life and salvation to the source of death and ruin (l.c. 18). Joseph is still the patron of virgins, and Joseph's sons observed the rule of virginity and lived as Nazarites : how can we doubt, then, that Joseph himself lived as a virgin with Mary ? (l.c. 8 and 14). [Here, too, Epiphanius has forgotten that St. Paul speaks of the Brethren of the Lord as married men (1 Cor. ix. 5), and that Hegesippus speaks of the grandchildren of Jude.]

I cannot pretend to have any very high respect for the common sense or the reasoning powers of one who can use arguments like the above ; but yet he was not without good and amiable qualities ; and I am glad to be able to bid a friendly good-bye to my critic in words borrowed from the champion of his own side, with one slight but not unimportant alteration (l.c. 15 f.). "Why inquire minutely into these things ? Why not accept what is

written, and leave the rest to God? Surely you will not assert that our salvation depends on the belief that Joseph did [not] know his wife after the birth of her Firstborn. . . . Had the Scripture asserted this, we should have accepted it without scruple."

JOSEPH B. MAYOR.

PS.—My readers may be interested to see what Tillemont and St. Bernard say on the supposed vow of virginity in Luke i. 34: "Quelques uns ont dit que la Vierge préféreroit sa virginité à la promesse de l'Ange, et estoit absolument resolue à la conserver. Mais les actions les plus saintes, faites contre l'ordre et la volonté de Dieu, que nous devons aimer et chercher en toutes choses, sont des pechez, et non des vertus. Aussi S. Bernard dit qu'elle eust esté prête de renoncer à son vœu, *frangere votum*, si c'eust esté la volonté de Dieu, en luy soumettant, quoique non sans regret, la volonté qu'elle avoit de l'observer."—*L'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, i. 465.

LEXICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.¹

VIII.

ἀποδεικνυμι.—P. Alex. 4 (iii/B.C.,=Witk. 32) ἀποδείξομέν σε, “we shall report you.” PP III. 36 (a) *verso*¹⁷ ἐπ[ι] τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων ἐπισκόπων, “in the presence of the appointed supervisors.” NP 36 (ii/A.D.) Ἀνουβίωνι ἀποδ[εδε]ιγμένῳ γυμνασιάρχῳ. *Syll.* 409¹¹ (ii/A.D.) ἀποδειχ[θέν]τος ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ, 376³³ (67 A.D., Nero’s speech to the Greeks) δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ τρισκαιδέκατον ἀποδεδειγμένος = *designatus* : see D. on the emendation of the context. In BM III. p. 126³⁴ (104 A.D.—see above under ἀπογράφομαι) οἱ ἀποδείξαντες ἀναγκ[αίαν α]ὐτῶν τὴν παρου[σίαν] are those who have “proved” their inability to return home for the ἀπογραφή. For the middle cf. *Syll.* 521¹⁹ (100 B.C.) the newly admitted *ephebi* ποιησάμενοι . . . μελέτην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀπεδείξαντο τοῖς . . . Θεσείοις.

ἀπόδειξις.—OP 257¹⁹ (94–5 A.D.) καθ’ [ἃς] ἐπήνεγκεν ἀποδείξεις, “in accordance with the proofs he produced.” BM III. p. 134 (ii/iii A.D.) καὶ εἰς ἀπόδιξιν [ὑπε]θέμην σοι τὰ ὑπογεγρ(αμμένα). TbP 291⁴¹ (ii/A.D.) [ἀπ]όδειξιν δούς τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι ἱερατικά. *Syll.* 521⁴² (see above) ἐποίησαντο . . . ἐπ’ ἐξόδῳ τῆς ἐφηβείας τὴν ἀποδεί[ξιν τ]ῇ βουλῇ.

ἀπόδεκτος.—The word seems to occur in the Stratoniceae inscr., OGIS 441¹⁰⁰ (i/B.C.) . . .] ἀπόδεκ[τα ὑπάρχει]ν δεῖν : the supplement is Viereck’s, accepted by Dittenberger. The absence of context is unfortunate. The noun ἀποδέκτης, following σίτ(ου), occurs in *Ostr.* 1217 (iii/A.D.), *al.*

ἀποδημέω.—Early examples of the verb are afforded by PP II. 42(b)⁵ (iii/B.C.) εἰμὶ γὰρ πρὸς τῷ ἀποδημεῖν, Par P 46 (ii/B.C.) ἐγκατελελοίπει με ἀποδημήσας (=Witk. 62). An antithesis which verbally resembles 2 Cor. v. 9 may be seen

¹ For abbreviations see the February and March EXPOSITOR, pp. 170, 262.

in TbP 104¹⁷ (i/B.C.) ἐνδημῶν καὶ ἀποδημῶν, in a marriage contract. So BU 183⁷ (i/A.D.). See *Archiv* iii. 84. Add BU 801⁸ (ii/A.D.) an illiterate document, 388^{ii.10} (ii/iii A.D.), AP 145¹⁶ (iv/v A.D.), OP 44¹⁸ (i/A.D.), 326 (*ib.*), 471⁸ (ii/A.D.). In *Syll.* 633¹³ (Roman) ἐὰν δέ τινα ἀνθρώπινα πάσχη ἢ ἀσθενήσῃ ἢ ἀποδημήσῃ που gives us a good combination. For the corresponding subst. cf. OP 471¹³⁴ (ii/A.D.) τὰς ἀποδημίας, TbP 330³ (*id.*) ἐμοῦ ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ ὄντος.

ἀποδίδωμι.—It is unnecessary to illustrate this very common verb, the uses of which are on familiar lines. Thus ἀπόδος τῷ δεῖνι is the direction on the back of a letter; and the verb is the appropriate one everywhere for the “paying” of a debt, or “restoring” of a due of any kind. In G 43 (ii/B.C.) αὐτοῦ δὲ μηδ’ ἀποδεδωκότος ἡμῖν μηδὲ ἵππον μηδὲ τὴν πορείαν αὐτῆς ἐπιδεδωκότος, we have two compounds well distinguished. For the forms of δίδωμι see *Proleg.* 55. Additional examples of irregularities may be given. Forms following the contract verbs are δοῦντες TbP 420⁶ (iii/A.D.), ἐκδιδούντος BM III. p. 164¹⁵ (*id.*); also the subj. ἀποδοῖ BM III. p. 133³³ (ii/A.D.), PFi 81¹⁰ (103 A.D.), 86 (i/A.D.) *bis*, TbP 420²³ (iii/A.D.) δῶ (with *v* for *oi* as so often), OP 742⁹ (2 B.C.) παραδοῖ, *al.* Assimilation to ordinary -ω verbs accounts for ἀπέδετο BM III. 161¹⁸ (iii/A.D.), TbP 489 (ii/A.D.). The optative διδῶ occurs in *Syll.* 680⁶ (Roman), εἰ δὲ μὴ παραδιδῶ πρὸς κό[λασιν τὸ]ν οἰκέτην, διακοσίας ἀποτεινύτω: the optatives in parallel clauses—not an uncommon combination in *κοινή* documents—make the mood certain. But for a subjunctive δῶγ we may further cite *Syll.* 858¹⁷, 861⁹ (Delphi, ii/B.C.), which are quite clear as following εἰ κα. A convincing restoration by Witkowski (p. xxii.) gives us ἵνα ἀποδοῦ[η] ἀραβῶνα in Par P 58 (154 B.C.=Witk. 57): he compares Aristeeas § 238 πῶς ἂν ἀποδῶγ, but this is optative, and the other is much more probably subjunctive (*Proleg. l.c.*). Even ἀποδοίη 1 Thess. v. 15 D*

may quite possibly have been intended for a subjunctive : the dying optative received much hard usage.

ἀποδοχή.—In *Syll.* 656^{20f.} (Ephesus, ii/A.D.) an ἀγωνοθέτης named Priscus is styled ἀνδρὸς δοκιμωτάτου καὶ πάσης τειμῆς καὶ ἀποδοχῆς ἀξίου. Field's examples (*Otium Norv.*² 203) show how much of a formula this ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιος had become. The inscr. is quoted, with other epigraphic examples, by Canon Hicks in his illuminating paper, *CR* i. 4, from which may be selected *OGIS* 339¹⁴ (c. 120 B.C.) τῆς καλλίστης ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιούμενος παρ' αὐτῷ. The derivative ἀποδοχεῖον, which is found in the LXX, seems to occur in the much mutilated PP II. 20 (iii/B.C.) as amended in PP III. 36 (b) βουκόλων κ(ώμης) ἀποδοχίω[ι], "in the granary of the herds-men's village."

ἀπόθεσις.—BU 606⁵ (iv/A.D.) [πρὸς ἀ]πόθεσιν ἀχύρου. Ἀπόθετος occurs in a petition OP 71^{ii.19} (iv/A.D.), but unfortunately the passage is much mutilated.

ἀποθήκη.—OP 43 *verso*^{iii.29} (iii/A.D.), BU 32³ (ii/iii A.D.), 816⁵ (iii/A.D.), 931² (iii/iv A.D.). The word is by no means so common as might have been expected. Its repeated occurrences in TbP 347 (ii/A.D.), prefixed to various items "deposited" in a bank, are somewhat difficult : see note *in loc.*

ἀποθνήσκω.—On the reason why its perfect was τέθνηκα, not ἀποτ., see *Proleg.* 114. No other part of the simplex survives, and no other compound. The sole occurrence in Witk. is worth quoting (p. 64=Par P 47¹¹, ii/B.C.) οἱ παρὰ σέ θεοὶ . . . ἐνβέβληκαν ὑμᾶς (for ἡμᾶς) εἰς ὕλην μεγάλην καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀποθανεῖν. Other citations are needless.

ἀποκαθίστημι.—For the meaning "restore," "give back," see P. Revill. Mél. p. 295 (ii/B.C.=Witk. 72) μέχρι τοῦ τὰ πράγματ' ἀποκαταστήναι, OP 38¹² (49–50 A.D.) ὑφ' οὗ καὶ ἀποκατεστάθη μοι ὁ υἱός, *OGIS* 90¹⁸ (Rosetta stone—ii/B.C.) ἀποκατέστησεν εἰς τὴν καθήκουσαν τάξιν, and often. For

the double augment, which is found in the N.T. (Matt. xii. 13, Mark viii. 25, Luke vi. 10), cf. such an occasional occurrence in the inscriptions as Letronne, *Recueil* II. 463 ἀπεκατέστησαν, *id.* 525 ἀπεκατεστάθη (ii/A.D.), and in *Archiv* ii. 436 (no. 31, i/A.D.); also TbP 413⁴ (ii/iii A.D.) ἀπεκατέστησα. By the Byzantine period it had become very common. See further Winer-Schmiedel 103. Note the perfect ἀποκαθέστακεν *Syll.* 365⁷ (i/A.D.).

The rare substantive ἀποκατάστασις occurs Par P 63^{viii.41} (ii/B.C.) μετὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων νυνεὶ ἀποκατάστασιν ὀρμῶμεν ἀπὸ βραχείων μόλεις εὐσχημονεῖν, and twice in *Syll.* 552 (late ii/B.C.) with reference to the renewal of the temple cell of the goddess Artemis at Magnesia —¹³ εἰς τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τοῦ ναοῦ συντέλειαν εἵληφεν and ²³ συντελέσαι τὴν ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς θεοῦ. In *OGIS* 483⁸ (ii/B.C.) ἔκδοσιν ποιησάμενοι τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως τοῦ τόπου, it is used of the repair of a public way. PFi 43¹² (370 A.D.) χειρογραφείαν ἦτοι ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως τούτων. Another noun-formation occurs in TbP 424⁸ (iii/A.D.) εἰ μὴ ἀποκαταστασίας δὴ πέμψῃς, “unless you now send discharges” of debts (G. and H.). See Mayser 438.

ἀποκαλύπτω.—For the literal sense of this significant word (see *Thess.* 149 f.) cf. NP 16¹³ (iii/A.D.) ὁ[πό]ταν ἡ τοια[ύ]τη γῆ ἀποκαλυ[φθ]ῇ [(as amended Add. p. 37), μισθοῦται καὶ σπεύρεται.

ἀπόκειμαι.—Par P 63^{ix.4} (ii/B.C.) ἀπόκειται γὰρ παρὰ θεοῦ μῆνις τοῖς μὴ κατὰ τό βέλτιστον [προαι]ρουμένοις ζῆν: there is a suggestion of Rom. ii. 5. Closely parallel with the N.T. use of the verb is *OGIS* 383¹⁸⁹ (the important inscription of Antiochus I, the Zoroastrian king of Commagene in i/B.C.), οἷς ἀποκείσεται παρὰ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων χάρις εὐσεβείας (see Dittenberger's note). The word is very common in the sense “to be stored,” e.g. OP 69 (ii/A.D.) ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀποκειμένων, TbP 340¹³ (206 A.D.) αἱ καὶ ἀποκείμεναι

ἐν θησ(αυρῶ) ἐπὶ σφραγίδι Ἀμμωνίου, “ which are stored at the granary under the seal of A ” (G. and H.).

ἀποκλείω.—OP 265¹⁴ (i/A.D.—a marriage-contract) μηδ’ ἀποκλείειν (= -κλείειν) μηδενὸς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. (For the Hellenistic contraction of two *i*-sounds see *Proleg.* 45: Mr. Thackeray points out that it does not prevail till A.D.).

ἀπόκριμα.—OGIS 335 (ii/B.C.) ⁹⁵ τὰ ἀποσταλέντα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀποκρίματα and ¹¹⁹ καθότι καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τῶν ἀποκριμάτων ἐνεφάνισαν. *Ib.* 494¹⁸ (? i/ii A.D.) joins ἐπιστολαί, ἀποκρίματα, διατάγματα: Dittenberger defines these successively in the context as despatches addressed by the proconsul to the emperor, the senate, etc., replies given to deputations of provincials to him, and *edicta*, or documents addressed to the people at large, and not to individuals. *IG* xiv. 2711⁶⁹ ἀπόκριμα πρὸς τὸ ἔθνος πάσης φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν πλήρες. In *TbP* 286¹ (ii/A.D.) it is a “ rescript ” of Hadrian.

The verb is of frequent occurrence, e.g. *Str P* 22¹³ (ii/A.D.) τί ἀποκρίνειν πρὸς τὸν χρόνον κ.τ.λ.;

ἀποκνέω.—BU 665^{ii.19} (i/A.D.) ἡτοιμάσθη αὐτῇ πάντα πρὸς τὴν λοχείαν αὐταρκῶς, ἐρωτῶσι δὲ καί, κύριε (sc. πάτερ), ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, ὅπως ἀποκνήσῃ ω[. . . The word is accordingly, it would seem, an ordinary synonym of *τίκτω*, but definitely “ perfectivised ” by the *ἀπό*, and so implying safe delivery. For the simplex cf. *Syll.* 797 (ii/B.C.) τὸ παιδάριον δ’ Ἀννύλα κύει, 802³, 803²⁷.

ἀπολαμβάνω.—The use of *ἀ*. in *Mark* vii. 33=“ draw aside,” “ separate,” is well illustrated by *BM* I. p. 30 (ii/B.C., =*Witk.* 39), where τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀπειλημμένων is applied to the recluses of the Serapeum; so *P. Vat. A.*¹⁰ (*id.*, =*Witk.* 41). The word is of course very common.

ἀπόλαυσις.—OGIS 383 (see under ἀπόκειμαι) ^{11a}. οὐ μόνον κτῆσιν βεβαιοτάτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἡδίστην ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμισα τὴν εὐσέβειαν, *id.* ¹⁵⁰ κοινὴν *ἀ*. ἑορτῆς παρεχέτω,

669⁸ (i/A.D.) τὰ τε πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀ. For the verb cf. OP 41⁸ (iii/iv A.D.) πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύομεν, *OGIS* 669³ ἀ. τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν. *Syll.* 891¹⁹—a curious funeral inscription composed for a heathen by a proselyte, who quotes the LXX—μηδὲ καρπῶν ἀπολαύοι.

ἀπολείπω.—The verb is apparently a *term. techn.* in wills etc., e.g. OP 105 (ii/A.D.) κληρόνομον ἀπολείπω τὴν θυγατέρα μου.

ἀπόλλυμι.—OP 743 (2 B.C.) ἐγὼ ὅλος διαπονοῦμαι εἰς Ἑλενος χαλκούς ἀπόλε[σ]εν, “I am quite upset at Helenos’ loss of the money” (G. and H.). Cf. also PP III. 51 τὸ ἀργύριον δ’ ὥιοντο ἀπολωλέναι, “the money which they thought had been lost.” TbP 278³⁶ (nursery acrostic, i/A.D.) λέων ὁ ἄρας, μωρὸς ἀπολέσας.

ἀπολογέομαι.—*OGIS* 609³⁹ (231 A.D.) μή τις ὡς ἀγνοήσας ἀπολογήσεται. Cf. for a cognate verb PP III. 53 n. (iii/B.C., =Witk. 29) πρὸς αἰτίαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς [ἀπ]ολογίζεται, *OGIS* 315^{33, 44} (ii/B.C.), *al.* For the noun ἀπολογία see BU 531^{i.21} (ii/A.D.) ἀπέχεις οὖν τὴν ἀ. See Mayser 83 f.

ἀπολύω.—The verb=“dismiss” occurs Par P 49 (ii/B.C., =Witk. 46) ἀπέλυσα εἶπας αὐτῷ ὀρθρίτερον ἐλθεῖν. In BM I. p. 30 (see above under ἀπολαμβάνω) it is used of departure from seclusion in the Serapeum—ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπολελύσθαι σε ἐκ τῆς κατοχῆς (Witk. 40). The index to *OGIS* gives a long list of citations in various senses. Add *Ostr.* 1150, TbP 423²⁷, 439, 490, etc.

ἀπονέμω.—In OP 71^{ii.3} (303 A.D.) a Praefect is praised as rendering to all their due—πᾶσι τὰ ἴδια ἀπονέμεις.

ἀπονίπτω.—*Syll.* 802⁶³ (iii/B.C.): a fraudulent patient at the Asclepieum is told to take off the bandage and ἀπονίψασθαι τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπὸ τᾶς κρίνας, in which he sees the penalty of his deceit branded on his face.

ἀποπίπτω.—This word, which in the N.T. is found only once (Acts ix. 18) in its literal meaning of “fall off,” occurs

in a derived sense in Par P 47²⁷ (ii/B.C.) ἀποπεπτώκαμεν πλανόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν, where Witkowski (p. 65) understands it as almost—"spe deicior, spe cado," and compares Polyb. i. 87, 1 πίπτω ταῖς ἐλπίσιν.

ἀπορέω.—OP 472⁸ (ii/A.D.) ὑπὸ δανειστῶν ὥλλυτο καὶ ἡπόρει, "he was ruined by creditors and at his wits' end" (G. and H.).

ἀπορία.—Syll. 529⁶ (early i/B.C.) τῶν διὰ τὴν ἀ. ἐκκλελοιπότων τὴν πόλιν, "poverty." So with the noun which gives both these words: BM III. p. 126 f. (149 A.D.) γραφῆς ἀπόρων, "a certificate of poverty" (edd.), qualifying for ἐπιμερισμὸς ἀπόρων, "poor relief"—see the editors' further references.

ἀποσπάω.—PP II. 9(3) (iii/B.C.) ἔγραψάς μοι μὴ ἀποσπάσαι τὸ [πλήρωμα] with reference to the withdrawal of a set of workmen, engaged in copper mines. NP 54²¹ (illiterate) οὐκ αἰδυνήθημεν ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ἀποσπάσαι ἐκεῖθεν. OP 38⁹ (49–50 A.D.) ἐπικεχειρηκότος ἀποσπάσαι εἰς δουλαγωγία[ν] τὸν ἀφήλικά μου υἱόν.

ἀποστασία.—The noun ἀποστάτης occurs in P. Revill. Mél. (130 B.C., =Witk. 72) χρήσασθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀποστάταις, sc. τοῖς ἐν Ἐρμῶνθει ὄχλοις, whom a certain Paon μετὰ δυνατῶν ἱκανῶν is sailing up the Nile to reduce (καταστήσαι). So in Syll. 930⁵⁰ (112 B.C.). In AP 30 (ii/B.C.) we read of the burning of title-deeds ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀποστατῶν, "rebels." The old word ἀπόστασις, equivalent to -σία (which we have not found—see however Nägeli 31), occurs in Par P 36¹³ (ii/B.C.), and the adj. ἀποστατικός in TP 8 (ii/B.C.).

ἀποστασίον.—BU 1002¹⁶ (55 B.C., a copy of a demotic bill of sale "μεθρημηνευμένης κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν") has ἀποστασίου συνγραφῇ, "bond of relinquishing" (the sold property). The phrase is found as early as 258 B.C. in HbP 96³, a "contract of renunciation" (G. and H.) between two military settlers, one of whom at least was a Jew. The editors remark, "This expression has hitherto always been found

in connexion with the translations of demotic deeds concerning the renunciation of rights of ownership, the (συγγραφῇ) ἀποστασίου being contrasted with the πρᾶσις [as in TbP 561 (i/A.D.) πρᾶσις καὶ ἀποστασίου δούλου . . .], the contract concerning the receipt of the purchase price; cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* ii. p. 143 and pp. 388 f." This note does not seem to cover the passage in G 11^{ii.19} (157 B.C.) καὶ ἀποστασίου ἐγράψατο τῶι Πανᾶϊ μὴ ἐπελεύσεσθαι, μήθ' ἄλλον μηθένα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ, "he had a bill of ejectment drawn against Panas, that neither he nor any person connected with him should trespass on the property." In BU 919²³ (ii/A.D.) we have ἀκολουθῶς ᾧ παρεθέμ(ην) ? ὑμῖν ἀντιγρ(άφῃ) ἀποστασίου τοῦ πατρός μου Ὀνησικράτους κληρον[όμου τ]ῶν προγεγρα(μμένων) μου ἀδελφῶν τετ[ελ(ευτηκότων)]. Here ἀποστασίου may be short for συγγραφῆς ἀποστασίου, or it may be the genitive of ἀποστάσιον used as in Matt. v. 31, an abbreviation of the fuller phrase. But it may be conjectured that in Matt. *l.c.* the original reading was ἀποστασίου and not -ον: in its presumed original, Deut. xxiv. 1, βιβλίον was expressed. The specializing of this term for divorce is not paralleled in our documents, but it was clearly the nearest word to use to represent the Hebrew phrase.

ἀποστερέω.—OP 237^{vi.22} (ii/A.D.) ἵνα μ' αὐτὴν ἀποστ(ερ)ῇται. BU 242⁸ (ii/A.D.) ἀποστερεῖν. For the subst. see OP 71^{i.10} (303 A.D.) ἐπὶ ἀποστερέσει τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ, "to my detriment" (G. and H.). The simplex occurs in EP 1⁷ (311/10 B.C.) στερέσθω ὧμ προσηγέκατο πάντων.

ἀπόστολος.—The verb occurs more than twenty times in Witkowski's index, = *mitto* or *rescribo*. Thus Par P 32 (ii/B.C.) (=Witk. 43 f.) Καβάτοκον δ' ἐπιτηρῶ, ἂν κατα[π]λῇ, ἀποστεῖλαί σοι; with which may be compared the use of ἀποστολή="despatch," e.g. TbP 112⁶ (ii/B.C.), OP 736¹³ (about 1 A.D.) μύρου εἰς ἀποστολὴν ταφῆς θυγατρὸς Φινᾶς,

“perfume for the despatch of the mummy of the daughter of Phna.” So *Syll.* 924²⁹ (end of iii/B.C.), 929⁹⁹ (? 139 B.C.). It is not easy to point to an adequate parallel for the N.T. usage of the important word ἀπόστολος, unless we can accept the editors’ restoration in Par P p. 412 (ii/B.C.) [ἐπεσ]ταλκότων ἡμῶν πρὸς σε τὸν ἀπ[όστολον], “when we had despatched the messenger to you.” Cf. *Thess.* 21. Apart from its use in Attic inscriptions, as *Syll.* 153 (325 B.C.)=“fleet,” naval expedition,” it is used for a “ship” in OP 522 (ii/A.D.). In this document (cf. also TbP 486—ii/iii A.D.), which is an account of the expenses of corn-transport, it is of interest to notice that each ἀπόστολος is known by the name of its owner, e.g. λόγος ἀποστόλου Τριαδέλφου, “account—for the ship of Triadelphus.” Since in early times the non-specialized and etymological meaning is found in Herodotus, and the other only in Attic writers, we see in the N.T. use the influence of Ionic on the Κοινή: cf. *Proleg.* 37, 81.

ἀποτάσσομαι.—See *Notes* ii. p. 108, and for the N.T. meaning add BU 884^{ii.12} (ii/iii A.D.) πρὶν οὖν ἀπέλθης πρὸς Χαϊρήμονα, ἀνά (βαίνε) πρὸς με, ἵνα σοι ἀποτάξομαι, “may say goodbye to you.” Ἀποτάσσειν is “to appoint,” as in OP 475²⁷ (ii/A.D.), and in passive FP 12²⁷ (ii/B.C.) *al.* or “command,” FP 20²⁰ (iii/iv A.D.).

ἀποτελέω.—The verb occurs three times in Tb 276 (ii/iii A.D.), an astrological document: thus¹⁴ Jupiter in conjunction with Mars (etc.) μεγάλας [βασίλειας] καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἀποτελεῖ, “makes.”

ἀποτίθεμαι.—The phrase of Matt. xiv. 3 (LXX, *al.*) is found nearly in EP 12 (222 B.C.) γεγράφαμεν . . . τῷ φυλακίτη . . . ἀποθέσθαι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν.

ἀποτίνω.—The verb is very common=“pay back,” “re-pay.” Par P 13¹⁴ (probably ii/B.C.) ἀποτίνειν αὐτὸν τὴν φερνήν παραχρῆμα σὺν τῇ ἡμιολίᾳ, “repay the dowry immediately

increased by one half": similarly NP 21¹⁴ (ii/B.C.), PP I. 16 (iii/B.C.). In an interesting contract of apprenticeship, OP 275²⁷ (66 A.D.), the father comes under a "forfeit" for each day of his son's absence from work—ἀ[πο]τεισάτω ἑκάσ[τ]ης ἡμέρας ἀργυρίου [δρ]αχμὴν μίαν.

ἀποτολμάω.—Dittenberger prints the verb in *Syll.* 803⁹⁴, but the context is so mutilated that the citation is at best only probable.

ἀποτομία.—OP 237^{vii.40} (ii/A.D.) παρ' οἷς ἄκρατος ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν ν[ό]μων ἀποτομ[ί]α, "amongst whom the severity of the law is untempered" (G. and H.)—from minutes of a legal argument. Counsel is pleading a native statute, admittedly harsh, which he claims was enforced rigidly; the word does not suggest straining a statute, but simply exacting its provisions to the full.

ἀπουσία.—For ἀ. in the N.T. sense of "absence" see AP 135⁵ (early ii/A.D.) μὴ ἀμελεῖν μου ἐν ἀπουσίᾳ τοιαύτῃ, "not to forget me in my absence," BU 195³⁸ (ii/A.D.) κατα[φ]ρονηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς περὶ [τῇ]ν στρατίαν ἀπου[σί]α[ς] μου, NP 3¹¹ (ii/A.D.) κατὰ ἀπουσίαν. Elsewhere it is used in the sense of "waste," "deficiency," e.g. BU 1065¹⁵ (97 A.D.) δώσει ἑκάστου μναϊαίου [ὑπ]ὲρ ἀπουσίας τετάρτην μίαν: cf. the use of the corresponding verb in Artem. I. 78 ὃ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα ἀπουσιάσει (cited by Suidas *Lex.*, where ἀπρεπές is given as a meaning of ἀπόν: it was borrowed in Syriac according to this force.)

ἀποφέρω.—Par P 49 (ii/B.C.) (=Witk. 47) διὰ τὸ εἰς τὴν πόλιν με θέλειν δοῦναι ἀπενεγκεῖν. The verb occurs *ter* in the well-known schoolboy's letter, OP 119 (ii/iii A.D.), e.g. καλῶς ἐποίησες οὐκ ἀπένηχές με μετ' ἐσοῦ εἰς πόλιν, "it was a fine thing of you not to take me with you to the city" (G. and H., who wrongly print μετὲ σοῦ: see *Proleg.* 234).

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THE HEBREWS IN EGYPT.

I.

IN a previous article I dealt with the question whether the Hebrews were originally nomads. I concluded from the narratives in Genesis that the patriarchs were farmers (*halb-fellahin*). Attention was drawn to the importance of this conclusion for the history of Israel. According to the inscription of Merenptah the fields of Israel were devastated by the Egyptian army in the fifth year of his reign. Until the discovery of this inscription in 1896 the view was generally accepted that Ramses II. was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and his successor, Merenptah, was supposed to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus. But how could the fields of Israel have been devastated by Merenptah in the beginning of his reign if he was the Pharaoh of the Exodus? There is not sufficient space of time for the travelling of the tribes through the desert and the settling down in Canaan. Therefore Fotheringham¹ assumes that the fields of Israel were the fields cultivated by them in Goshen. He supposed that the Exodus occurred in the fifth year of Merenptah's reign. "The crops of the Israelites, of course, are those planted in the land of Goshen and left behind unharvested in their hurried flight." This solution, however, is made impossible by the text of the inscription,² "Askalon is led away, Gezer is taken, Yenuam

¹ D. R. Fotheringham, *The Chronology of the Old Testament*, Cambridge, 1906, pp. 96, 97.

² Cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Der Siegeshymnus des Merenptah*. *Zeitschr. f. ägypt. Sprache*, 1896. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, iii. p. 114.

is brought to nought, Israel is devastated, they do not have crops. Kharu (Palestine) has become as a widow (Khr) by Egypt." Here Israel is evidently part of the population of Kharu.

Some scholars suppose that the Exodus must have occurred at a much earlier date than the reign of Merenptah. Miketta assumes that Thutmes III. was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and Amenophis II. (1442-1423) the Pharaoh of the Exodus.¹ Ed. Meyer² identifies the Beduins, who were beaten by Sety I., with the Hebrews. He thinks that the Exodus took place before Sety I. (about 1326-1300).

Other scholars assume that the Israelites mentioned in the inscription of Merenptah were different from the Israelites who dwelt in Goshen. They suppose that only a part of the Israelites went down to Egypt. A considerable number of Hebrews remained in Palestine. These tribes were beaten by Merenptah. The tribes that dwelt in Goshen left Egypt at the end of the reign of Merenptah, and joined their brethren in Canaan. This is the opinion of W. M. Flinders Petrie³ and W. Spiegelberg.⁴

It is obvious that both suppositions meet with great difficulties. If we admit that the Exodus occurred before Sety I., we do not understand how the book of Exodus can tell us that the Israelites were compelled to build for Pharaoh the store cities Pithom and Ramses (Exod. i. 11), for they cannot have built a city called Ramses before a Pharaoh of that name mounted the throne of Egypt. The short reign of Ramses I., the predecessor of Sety I. (only two years), is insufficient for the events referred to in Exodus i.-xii. So we can only understand Exodus

¹ K. Miketta, *Der Pharao des Auszuges*. Freib. i. B., 1903.

² *Die Israeliten*. Halle, 1906, p. 222 seq.

³ *A History of Egypt*, iii. p. 114 seq.

⁴ *Der Aufenthalt Israels in Aegypten*. Strassburg, 1904.

i. 11 if we assume that Ramses II. is the Pharaoh of the oppression. But then there seems to be no possible date for the Exodus, as it is impossible that the Hebrews should have left Egypt during the reign of the mighty Ramses II., and they were already in Palestine in the fifth year of his successor.

On the other hand, it is impossible for us to assume, with Flinders Petrie and Spiegelberg, that only a part of the Israelites went to Egypt. Every people likes to glorify its history. The Egyptian period in the Israelitic history is not a time of glory but of shame. The Old Testament does not refer with a single word to the unbroken independence of a considerable part of the Israelitic tribes. Old Testament tradition only knows that all the tribes, from which the nation of Israel originated, were oppressed as slaves in Egypt. We cannot explain how the offspring of the independent tribes should have forgotten their own more glorious tradition, and have assumed as their own the traditions, full of humiliation, that were preserved by the tribes that came from Goshen and joined them in Palestine.

If we survey the history of Egypt, we see that it is very improbable that the Exodus can have occurred in the centuries covered by the xviiith and xixth Egyptian dynasty. Thutmes I. made a campaign in Palestine and Syria, and erected, near the Euphrates, a stele in memory of his victories. His successors, Thutmes II., the mighty Thutmes III., Amenothos II. and Thutmes IV., maintained the dominion of Egypt over these countries, and made several campaigns to Naharina (Mesopotamia). The Pharaohs of the Amarna letters, Amenothos III. and IV. were still respected by the numerous governors in the cities of Palestine and Syria. Their successor, Thutanchamen, received the tribute of Syrian princes, and the last

king of the xviiith dynasty made campaigns to Cyprus and the country of the Hittites. During the powerful reign of the first kings of the xixth dynasty circumstances were still less favourable for the Exodus; Sety I. and Ramses II. were mighty warriors, whose influence was strongly felt by the population of Syria and Palestine. In these times no Exodus was possible. So every hypothesis meets with difficulties, and the question of the Exodus seems to be a riddle that cannot be solved.

I think that our remarks about the patriarchs in Genesis may open a new way. Scholars were convinced that the Israelitic tribes were nomads before they entered into Egypt. Therefore they could not but suppose that the Israelites, whose fields were devastated by Merenptah, were different from the Israelitic families of the narratives in Genesis. This conception of the Patriarchs being a mistake, it is quite possible that the Israelitic families of Genesis are to be identified with the Israelites of the stele of Merenptah. They were plundered by the army of Merenptah before they entered into Egypt.

But here another difficulty seems to arise. How could the Hebrews build the city of Ramses if they were in Palestine during the reign of Ramses II.? It is true that we have no direct evidence that Ramses II. ordered the town Ramses to be built, but it seems to be certain that the town Ramses must have been built by a king called Ramses. Naville has shown that Pitum was built by Ramses II., his name being found on the oldest monuments discovered in the ruins of this city.¹ Thus it is certain that Exodus i. 11 refers to the reign of Ramses II.

If we examine the Egyptian texts, we see that they contain very valuable information about the Hebrews,

¹ E. Naville, *The Store City of Pithom*. London, 1885.

by which the mystery may be solved. Strangely enough, this information is at present generally overlooked.

II.

We have long known that certain Egyptian texts mention people called "‘A^{pr}iw." Chabas drew attention to these texts as early as 1862 (in the *Mélanges égyptologiques*, ser. i. pp. 42–55). According to Chabas these texts referred to the Hebrews. Brugsch, Wiedemann and Ed. Meyer, however, would not admit this. They maintained that the meaning of ‘a^{pr}, pl. ‘a^{pr}iw, was "labourer," or "sailor," and supposed that the word was derived from the verb ‘p^r, to provide.

These ‘a^{pr}iw are already mentioned in a text dating from the xiiith dynasty, as no Hebrews could possibly have entered into Egypt. The ‘a^{pr}iw of the texts Chabas had referred to, were also explained as "labourers," and so these texts were considered to be of no importance for the history of the Hebrews. Lately, however, it was shown by H. J. Heyes,¹ that this explanation was a mistake. The determinative sign used in the hieroglyphic sign-group ‘a^{pr}iw appearing in the texts of Chabas, differs from the determinative sign in the text dating from the xiiith dynasty. In the latter case the determinative sign is the same as is used in writing the verb ‘p^r; in the former cases, however, the determinative signs point with great certainty to a foreign population, the signs being those that are regularly used in order to designate foreigners (man, wife and curved stick). It is remarkable that Chabas foresaw that the confusion between the two sign-groups ‘a^{pr} could easily lead to mistakes. He has drawn attention to the difference between the hieroglyphs and warned us not to confuse them. Nevertheless at this moment

¹ *Bibel und Aegypten*. Münster, 1904, pp. 146, sqq.

it is generally received that no Egyptian texts refer to the Hebrews, the texts of Chabas being discarded with the remark that they deal with "labourers." It is a footnote in Ed. Meyer's *History of Egypt*, p. 297, that is to be held particularly responsible for this erroneous opinion of Old Testament scholars.

The texts Chabas referred to are as follows. One of the generals of Thutmes III. besieged Joppa. The story of this siege is told in Papyrus Harris 500 (ed. G. Maspero, *Etudes égypt.* i. 1879, pp. 49-72; *Contes populaires*, 2 ed. pp. 147-160). In the disguise of a stranger the general Thwti penetrated into Joppa. He succeeded in opening one of the gates for people that were supposed to be his porters. Every man carried a big jar on his back. Inside the jars were soldiers. As they jumped from the jars the general gave orders to send word to the Egyptian army outside the town, and said, "One of the 'Apriw must go with speed."

Then there are two reports from the time of Ramses II. (Leyden Papyri, i. 348, 349), which run in the translation of Heyes as follows: "The heart of my lord may rejoice. I obeyed the commandment of my lord, saying: Give corn to the soldiers and also to the 'Apriw, who are carrying stones for the fortifying of the town of Ramses Meri Amun, who loves the truth, and who are commanded by the captain of the Masai Amun-m-An. Every month I have given them their corn, according to the supreme commandments of my lord." The report is written by Kawiser and addressed to Bk-n-Ptah.

The second report is from Keni-Amun to the stable-master Hwi: "I obeyed the commandment of my lord; give provisions to the soldiers and to the 'Apriw, who carry stones for Re, viz., for Re of Ramses Meri Amun in the southern quarter of Memphis."

The first king of the xxth dynasty, Ramses III., reports that he has given to the temple of his father, the noble god Tum, a great number of people. Among them are numerous strangers: "officers of the chariots, Libyan officers, Asiatic noblemen, 'Apriw, a foreign colony living in the place, 2,073 people."

His successor, Ramses IV., sent an expedition to the quarries of Hammamat in southern Egypt. The number of the people that were sent down was 8,368; among them were "800 'Apriw of the Asiatic tribe 'Anwtiw." This is the last time the 'Apriw appear in the Egyptian inscriptions.

Chabas and Heyes have shown that the word 'Apriw may be the Egyptian transcription of עבריים. The Semitic origin of these 'Apriw is obvious from the only tribe that is mentioned, 'Anwtiw, corresponding to the Semitic name ענת. The reports from the officials of Ramses II. remind us of Exodus i.-v. So there is no reason to deny that these texts are of importance for the history of the Hebrews. They inform us that a Hebrew population lived in Egypt from the reign of Thutmes III. (about 1503-1449 B.C.), until the reign of Ramses IV. (about 1171-1165). They formed small colonies, and were compelled to carry stones for the fortifications and temples that were built by the Pharaohs.

This Hebrew population is not to be identified with the Israelites. They had not yet entered Egypt when Merenptah made his Palestinian campaign and devastated the fields of Israel. The inscription of Merenptah shows that the Israelites were a semi-nomadic population, when they were overrun by the Egyptian soldiers. The determinative sign, "town" or "country," that is used in writing down the names of Askalon, Gezer, Yenuam, is not used when Israel is mentioned. It is only determined by the

sign "people." From this it is evident that they were not considered to be a "state." It is also probable that they did not live in towns, otherwise the sign town or country would have been used. We understand this if the Israelites lived in Canaan as foreigners, but we cannot explain it if we assume that the Israelitic tribes had already conquered a great deal of Canaan, when they were beaten by the army of Merenptah.

When the Israelites entered Egypt there was already a Hebrew population there. If we admit this, we understand Genesis xlv. 28-xlvii. 5. Joseph urged his brethren to tell Pharaoh that they are shepherds, for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians. It is evident that they wished to deceive Pharaoh for some reason. Otherwise Joseph would not have laid so much stress upon the information he wanted his brethren to give to Pharaoh concerning their occupation. Now, certainly it is a very strange thing that people, who wish to be admitted to dwell in the territory of the Egyptian king pretend to be something that is an abomination to the inhabitants of that country. The only plausible reason for this is that they fear something. We understand this fully by the Egyptian texts, mentioned above. The Israelites evidently were afraid to be compelled to labour, as the other Hebrew colonists were. They tried to escape this fate by pretending to be shepherds. The book of Exodus teaches us that their tale had only a temporary success. Very soon they found themselves in the same condition as the other Hebrews.

Our supposition is confirmed by the annals of Ramses III. contained in the great papyrus Harris. From these annals we learn that circumstances were very favourable for the Semites in the years preceding his reign. The events he is alluding to do so perfectly agree with the

narrative about Joseph in the book of Genesis that it can hardly be doubted that the Israelites must have entered Egypt not long before his accession to the throne.

The Pharaohs who succeeded Merenptah were men of little importance. Sety II. was already an elderly man of nearly sixty years of age when he succeeded Merenptah. "Not a single important event can be put down to his reign" (Flinders Petrie, l.c. iii. p. 123). He reigned about five years. His successor and son, Amun-moses, died in the first year of his reign. Then Septah, the consort of the princess Tausert, a daughter of Sety II., obtained the throne. He must have been a very weak ruler. During the five years of his reign there was a great confusion. The real ruler was a man of Semitic origin. His name was Yersew ('Irsu). He was of Palestinian origin, a man from Kharu. His influence was important under the reigns of Septah and Setnekht. The latter reigned only for one year. The first king of the xxth dynasty knew how to restore order. "He purified the great throne of Egypt."

All we know, about this time, of Yersew we owe to Ramses III. The few lines of the papyrus Harris which refer to this time of confusion are in perfect harmony with the history of Joseph in Genesis. The passage is translated by Flinders Petrie (l.c. iii. 134) as follows: "The land of Egypt was overthrown. Every man was his own guide; they had no superiors. *From the abundant years of the past we had come to other times.* The land of Egypt was in chiefships and in principedoms; each killed the other among noble and mean. *Other times came to pass after that; in years of scarcity Yersew, a man from Palestine,*¹ *was to them as chieftain. He made the whole land tributary*

¹ Flinders Petrie transcribes Arisu, a Syrian. The Egyptian form is 'irsu, from Kharu.

to himself alone. He joined his companions with him, and seized their property. And they treated the gods in the same manner as they treated the people; offerings were not presented in the shrines of the temples. When the gods turned again to peace, rule was restored to earth in its proper manner." The coincidence with the history of Joseph is so striking, that it can hardly be denied that Genesis and Ramses III. are referring to the same occurrences. Even the name of the man from Palestine has some likeness to Joseph. He is not called a king, nevertheless he made the land tributary to himself. This is the Egyptian conception of what is told (Gen. xlvii. 14-27) from an Israelitic point of view.

As the name Yersew is slightly different from Joseph, it is not quite certain whether we may identify the two names. Perhaps the Egyptian transcription may have corrupted Joseph into Yersew. In any case it is certain that Genesis tells the same things about Joseph as Ramses III. does about Yersew. So it is highly probable that the entrance of the Israelites into Egypt is connected with the history of Yersew. We know that the Semitic influence was very important in those days. Semitic gods were introduced into the Egyptian Pantheon, and the Egyptian language was influenced by the Semitic speech, as is shown by the numerous Semitic loan-words of this period.

The entrance of the Israelites into Egypt must have occurred about 1205 B.C., under the reign of Septah. If we assume this, we also understand the double tradition of the Old Testament about the time the Hebrews sojourned in Egypt. According to Genesis xv. 16 the fourth generation left Egypt. In oriental life people marry at a very early age, and we cannot reckon a generation to be more than twenty years. So the Egyptian period covers eighty years. According to Genesis xv. 13, however, they

sojourned in Egypt 400 years. This number cannot be explained by the supposition that it is connected with a chronological system. For there is another estimation of the Egyptian period at 430 years in Exodus xii. 40, and it is this number that is connected with the chronological system. We cannot understand why Genesis xv. 13 should mention 400 years instead of 430, if this number also originated from the chronological system.

We have already remarked that the Hebrews are not mentioned in the Egyptian texts after Ramses IV. So it is very probable that the Hebrews of the Exodus were not only the Israelites but also the Hebrews, whose families had sojourned much longer time in Egypt. It is interesting to read in Exodus xii. 38, that "a mixed multitude went up with the Israelites." This mixed multitude cannot have been of Egyptian origin. Evidently the Hebrews of non-Israelitic origin accompanied the Israelitic tribes. They had intermarried with the dark-coloured half Semitic or wholly Semitic tribes, living at the southern frontier of the Egyptian empire, that were used by the Egyptians as slaves and soldiers. Even Moses had married a Kushite woman (Numbers xii. 1). The name of Aaron's grandson Phinehas is pure Egyptian, and means "the negro" (pnḥsi). It is, for instance, the name of the viceroy of Kush during the reign of Ramses XII., 1129-1102 B.C. Phinehas has always been a beloved name in Israel. The wife of Eleazar was a daughter of Putiel, whose name is also of Egyptian origin. The tradition of the mixed multitude knew about a sojourn in Egypt of four centuries; the Israelites, who entered at a much later date, only knew about four generations. So the Israelitic records, which were written when the Hebrews and Israelites were united into one nation, embody the double tradition of Genesis xv. 13 and Genesis xv. 16.

The Exodus must have occurred during the reign of

one of the later Ramessides about 1125 B.C., when Ramses XII. was reigning. The later Ramessides were politically of no importance. They were priests, who did not understand how to rule an empire. "The increase of priestly rule was accompanied by the decay of administration" (Flinders Petrie, *l.c.* iii. p. 180). The kings and public affairs seem mute and insignificant" (*ibid.* p. 187). So it can be easily understood that the Hebrews and Israelites could leave Egypt and settle down in Canaan, that country then being wholly independent of Egypt.

III.

There is one point we still have to deal with, before concluding this article, viz., the Khabiri in the Amarna letters. The Khabiri are by several scholars identified with the Hebrews. If they are right, there existed a Hebrew population in Canaan as early as the Pharaohs Amenothos III. and IV. (1414-1365 B.C., according to the chronology of Flinders Petrie). It is obvious that the conclusions we arrived at in the foregoing pages would not be shaken by this explanation of the Amarna letters. The Hebrews that dwelt in Egypt under Thutmes III. and Ramses II. do not necessarily exhaust the number of Hebrew tribes then existing. According to Genesis xiii, Abram and Lot returned from Egypt. Some of the Hebrew tribes represented by Abram and Lot may have remained in Egypt, others may have wandered back to Palestine.

But I do not think that our conclusions need the support of this supposition, as I feel convinced that the Khabiri of the Amarna letters have nothing to do either with the Hebrews or with the Israelites.

The enemies of the Egyptian governors in the Palestinian towns and in Syria are called "robbers" (SA-GAS). A few letters, written in Jerusalem, call them Kha-bi-ri.

From the letters clxxx. 30, 31, compared with excii., 7, we see that SA-GAS and Kha-bi-ri are to be identified. Both letters allude to the same fact—the treacherous behaviour of the sons of Lapaja. In the first letter they are accused of delivering the country to the Kha-bi-ri; the second letter uses, instead of this name, “robbers” (SA-GAS). These people are everywhere, high up in the north and in the southern part of the country, in the regions eastward of Jordan and in the west. They cover a greater surface of land than the Hebrews ever did. Further, they are not always enemies of the Egyptians. Several towns appear to have had a garrison of “robbers,” which are commanded by the Egyptian governor. Beirut (Letter lxxvii. 20 seq.) and Sumurra (lxxxiii. 62, lxxxiv. 8) are defended by SA-GAS. Abd-Aširtu asked the king to send an officer in order to protect him (xxxix. 8 seq.). Nevertheless he was a chief of the SA-GAS. Namjawasa fights the king’s enemies by the aid of “robbers” (cxliv. 24 seq.). It is generally received that the “robbers” are Beduins, who invade the country. There is not a single text by which this is proved. Beduins are governed by sheikhs, they rob and disappear. We do not hear anything about the names of their sheikhs or their tribes. It strikes us that in some instances the Egyptian officer is on better terms with them than with the governor of the city (clxxix. 26 ff.). We understand all this if we assume that they are the native population of Palestine and Syria. The Egyptian dominion over this country was maintained by very small garrisons in the little towns. It appears that a garrison of 10, 20, 30 or 50 men is sufficient to protect a town (cxx. 32, cl. 18). This does not point to an invasion of foreigners, which poured into the country in such considerable numbers that they were at the same time everywhere, in north and south and east and west.

It proves that the "robbers" are the natives, who are always ready to rebellion, and who are used by the governors in their little mutual quarrels, of which they send exaggerated reports to the Egyptian court.

The name Kha-bi-ri fully agrees with this explanation of the Amarna letters. If the name is to represent the Babylonian form of 'Ibrim, we do not expect the vowel *a* in the first syllable, but *i*. It has been supposed that the word is to be identified with *haber*, friend, but the Babylonian form of *haber* is *ibru*, and this word is used in the letters. We see at once the meaning of the name if we observe that the syllable *bi* may also correspond to *w* and not only to *b*. In two instances *b* corresponds in these letters to *w*. The land "Su-ri" is written also "Su-ba-ri" (cf. lxxxiii. 17 and ci. 7). The name of the Egyptian "courier" is ra-bi-šu. The word not being of Egyptian origin, it must be of Semitic etymology. The root *rbš*, to lie down, does not give a possible sense, but the verb רץ, to run, explains the title perfectly. The rabišu is the rawiṣ, the courier. In the same way the Kha-bi-ri are to be explained as the Khawiri—the Khoirites, the inhabitants of the land Kharu, the Egyptian name for Palestine. The Greek transcription of the Nomen gentile was (π)χοιριος (quoted by W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 193). This proves that Kha-wi-ri corresponds to the Egyptian pronunciation of the word for "native of Kharu." Therefore it seems to me very improbable that an argument can be deduced from the Amarna letters in favour of placing the Exodus in the fifteenth or fourteenth century B.C.

Some objection from the Book of Judges may be raised against accepting this date for the Exodus. This book seems to cover more than four centuries, and according

to its chronology the time that elapsed between the Exodus and King David must be estimated at about 600 years; while according to our theory David is only separated from the Exodus by 125 years.

I do not, however, think it necessary here to deal elaborately with the chronology of the Book of Judges. It is generally admitted among scholars that its chronology is of no historical value. Local heroes and local wars are conceived of as national heroes and national wars. So things that happened at the same time are narrated as events which took place successively. Therefore, 125 years may well be sufficient for the period of the wandering to Canaan and the occupation of the hills of that country.

B. D. EERDMANS.

WHAT IS MEANT BY THE BLOOD OF CHRIST?

I HAVE several times of late been asked what the meaning of a phrase like "the blood of Christ" could be in such ethical terms as appeal to an age like the present.

1.

It would not have mattered a whit if no drop of blood had been spilt, if Jesus had come to His end by the hemlock or by the gallows. The imagery under which we speak of the situation would have been changed—that is all.

2.

Nor would it have mattered if, instead of losing but some of His blood, He had bled to death. Whether no blood was shed, or every drop, was immaterial. That could only concern us if the virtue was in the blood as a substance, as it might be kept and applied in a reliquary. Had that been so, the sacrifice would not have been complete if a

drop had remained in the body ; while (on the same supposition) if not a drop had been shed there would have been no sacrifice at all.

There is, indeed, very little about the theory of the matter in the Old Testament. "Theories as to the meaning of ritual," says Dr. Bennett, "only arise after the origin of the rite has been forgotten." The chief hint is in Leviticus xvii. 11, as we shall see. But nowhere in the Old Testament does the value of the sacrificial blood lie in the blood itself, or in the suffering that might go with bloodshed. Nor does the final value lie even in the life symbolized by the blood, rich as we shall see that idea to be. We go behind and above even that to God's will of grace. The value of the sacrificial rite lay wholly in the fact of its being God's will, God's appointment, what God ordained as the machinery of His grace. It is of grace that He consents to receive the proffered life and reckon the gift for righteousness. In the Old Testament the acceptance is acceptilation.

3.

On the other hand, blood or none, it would have mattered a whole world if Jesus had met His death naturally, by accident or disease. Everything turns, not on His life having been taken from Him, but on its having been laid down. Everything, for His purpose, turns on the will to die. But, none the less, for its purpose, it had to be a death of moral violence (inflicted, that is, by human wickedness and the wresting of the law), to give its full force to both man's sin and Christ's blood. "Men of blood," in the Old Testament, were not mere killers but murderers. So that we say it would have mattered a whole world if the death had not been violent and wicked, if Jesus had died of disease in His bed, or by accidental poison.

4.

It follows that the acceptable and valuable thing to God was not mere demise, in whatever form. The Lord and Giver of life can have no pleasure in life's extinction. The death, even of Christ, could not have had divine value if it had meant any acceptance of even a martyr death which involved extinction and the dissolution of His personality. His death was precious in God's sight as the conquest of death, as the negation of death, as the ironic antithesis of death, the surmounting of its accepted arrest, the capture of its captivity. It is death as transition, not extinction; yet it is transition not as mere metamorphosis, that is, not as a mere step in a large *process*, not as a new stage of even moral growth, not as a fresh stadium in the normal evolution of a personality. There is involved in it a *crisis*. Take the case of resurrection. We do not get the full import of the idea of the resurrection if it involve for us only a survival of personality, any more than if we treat it as a mere reanimation. Neither vital resuscitation nor mere personal persistence does justice to Christ's resurrection. It crowns a real crisis. It seals a decisive moral act. Now as His death and resurrection form two sides of one act, the real personal crisis in Christ's resurrection is but the obverse of the real personal crisis in His death. We have to do with one critical act. Death is redemptive only as a personal moral *act*. It is moral conquest only as it is a crucial moral achievement, in which Christ's personality was not only intact and unscathed but consummated; and not only consummated but effectual, victorious, and decisive. The shedding of blood means this finality. It means the total surrender of a personality by the one means wherein personality both receives effect and produces effect—by means of a personal *act* which requires (but also releases) the whole resources of the personality. What God seeks

is not a religious tribute or present, costly but partial; his self-complete holiness requires a total holy self, in an act or deed of gift once for all. The essential thing was not self-sacrifice (which might be wilful, and often is wilful, as well as futile, or even mischievous), but sacrifice of the self, not sacrifice *by* self but *of* self, and of the whole self, sacrifice not merely voluntary but personal, loving, and entire. Not till then is it striving unto blood. And we end by noticing that the offering of self here was the offering of a holy self to a holy God from sin's side; and that sacrifice, therefore, involved, in some form, the idea not only of substitution but of judgment. What Nathan (so early) required from David was not only repentance and confession but satisfaction (2 Samuel xvii. 7, 13, 14).

I should like to go into more detail on these heads.

5.

Jesus appeared among a people whose mode of execution was not as it is with us, but either by stoning or crucifixion—that is, with effusion of blood. That in the first place. In the second place He appeared in an age and stage when the effusion of blood formed part of the religious ritual also—and indeed its central rite. In this external respect the criminal and the religious procedure concurred as they now do not. And in the third place, for the great majority of the worshippers in Christ's day, the origin of the rite was quite forgotten; its genius, therefore, was ill-understood; and, accordingly, serious people were sure to begin speculating on such theories of it as Christianity stimulated and enriched. By almost all the rite was taken as an *opus operatum*, as if the blood in itself had an atoning value, or, at least, as if the performance of the bloody rite had this value, as mere compliance with a divine regulation instead of answer to a divine gift. The symbolic significance had gone. The

why of the prescription did not trouble the general mind. The New Testament writers, whose whole spiritual world was now lit up and reorganized by the cross, had to take the current rite, and the current language, and to restore both to the profound, moral, intelligent, and spiritual religion of the Old Testament. Just as we have still to treat many of our own ancient ideas and terms, in spite of shallow and scrupulist protests, from intellectualists rigidly righteous, against playing with words or paltering with them in a double sense.

6.

There is nothing that is more necessary to note in regard even to the Old Testament sacrifice, there is nothing that more differentiates it from all pagan sacrifice, than the two truths, one speculative and one positive, set out in Leviticus xvii. 11. “The life of the flesh is in the blood : and *I have given it to you* upon the altar to make atonement for your souls : for it is the blood that maketh atonement by reason of the life.” The two truths fundamental to the revealed (as distinct from the popular) idea of sacrifice are, therefore :

(1) The positive truth, that the sacrifice is the result of God’s grace and not its cause. It is given *by* God before it is given *to* Him. The real ground of any atonement is not God’s wrath but God’s grace. There can be no talk of propitiation in the sense of mollification, or of purchasing God’s grace, in any religion founded on the Bible.

(2) The speculative and explanatory truth, that the pleasing thing to God, and the active element in the matter, is not death but life. The blood was shed with the direct object, not of killing the animal, but of detaching and releasing the life, isolating it, as it were, from the material base of body and flesh, and presenting it in this refined state to

God. (We allow, of course, for the current belief, in whose language the cultus was cast, that the blood was the seat of the life as no other element of the body was.) The creature had not to suffer. And it had to die only incidentally, in the course of getting away the life for a blessed purpose of God with man. The shedding of blood was certainly not a wreaking of punishment indifferently on guilty or innocent. This idea is quite foreign to the Bible. No fair critic of Christianity ought to regard it, and no informed one does. To urge it is only a piece of the intellectual levity that so often goes with much aggressive criticism, especially of the popular kind. In the Old Testament the slaying of the creature was not intended to free the offerer from the death penalty ; because for the sins that meant death and exclusion from the community, there was no sacrifice. Instead, therefore, of being a gross conception, the Jewish use and speech of blood in this connexion was a refinement on all other ritual—if we will but read with the historical sense. The flesh was eaten when drained of the blood ; the blood could never be thus consumed.

7.

We go a step farther in reading the Levitical praxis when we note that the material sacrifice was, and was meant to be, but an outward symbol (as our bread and wine are) of the real inner sacrifice, which was the offerer's self-oblation. The victim, or the gift, signified the inward and hearty submission of the donor to God's prior gift and provision. It was the living symbol of a life, i.e., of an obedient will. The sacrifice as mere tribute was worthless ; it must be the symbol and sacrament of the worshipper's self-surrender in the sacrificial act. It was not a gift to God, but an appropriation of God's gift in the institution itself. Thus the

ritual act was valuable only as the organ of the ethical. The sacrifices were consecrated by self-sacrifice. It was the will that lay on the altar. What was precious was not the thing, not the elements, but the act. It is thus that Protestantism truly construes each of its sacraments. The elements matter little, or their state. Fruit or water would do as well. The essential thing is the communal act. And it is here that the real sacramental issue lies between the Churches. Is the centre of gravity in the elements or in the act? Now the whole Hebrew system strove to keep down the place and value of the gift, and to worship in spirit (i.e. *in actu*) and in truth a seeking, acting, giving God. Hecatombs were unknown. A widow's mite could be more sacramental than a nation's mint. The act was the precious thing. And the act treated not as a mere function, but as a deliberate exercise of will and self-disposal—always responding in kind to the act of God's will and grace which ordained it.

8.

What is offered, therefore, is life in its most intimate, spiritual, and moral form. This does away with several notions. It does away with the notion that the pleasing, satisfying, atoning thing to God is suffering. It destroys the idea of Atonement as consisting in equivalent pain. Suffering then becomes a mere condition, and not a *factor*, in the sacrificial act. And, as we have just seen, we get rid of the idea that the essence of the sacrifice, the *donum*, was any *thing*, any piece of property. It must be life. Blood means essential, central, personal life. Human sacrifice was so far right. Where it was wrong was in the concomitant idea that any person could have sacrificial property in another person—as slave, child, or wife. The tacit and false assumption in the immolation of these were (1) that they could be the

offerer's property (and therefore religious means instead of ends), and (2) that the highest sacrifice was a payment of property, even property so prized as human chattels. It was true that sacrifice by blood meant sacrifice of precious life. But our will is our dearest thing, the thing we cling to most and give up last. Our will alone is our ownest own, the only dear thing we can really sacrifice. The blood means the will, the self-will, the whole will, in loving oblation. The cross does not in the New Testament exhibit God as accepting sacrifice but as making it. And it is never in the New Testament represented as the extremity of suffering, but as the superlative of death; and that again is represented as the triumph of eternal life. It is the absolute active death of self-will *into* the holy will of God, but also *by* that will; the complete, central, vital obedience of the holy to the holy in a necessary act on the Eternal scale. It was in an act, and not in a mere mood of resignation. And in an act not gratuitously done, (however voluntarily,) but made necessary by the organic pragmatism and moral unity of a whole life; and a whole life imbedded in the organic context of a national history; which again was integrated into God's holy purpose for the whole race and its redemption. Christ must die not simply of the blindness and blunders of men, but because He was the incarnation of that holiness which makes sin so sinful and wickedness so furiously to rage. The *must* was not merely in the Jews, but in the nature of holiness, as soon as it came to close quarters with human sin. The real nature of the Incarnation lies in the moral polarity and therefore identity of Christ's holiness with the holiness of God. The holy God alone could answer Himself and meet the demand of His own holiness. "Not I, but Christ living in me."

9.

We live in a stage when sacrifice, in the ritual sense, in the sanguinary sense, has long had no real place in our religion or worship. The language of sacrifice, therefore, has no meaning for us, except as it covers acts or requirements which are at heart ethical. But in passing to this stage we are not simply repudiating Hebraism. We are interpreting it. We are not casting its old clothes.¹ We are liberating the moral soul of Hebraism. We are setting free the idea it carries, and disengaging its true genius. We are not making a construction. We are not reading a later thing into Hebraism. We are seizing on an element which the great Hebraism always had at its core and foundation, and which only the popular religion and its debasements submerged,²—the element of initial and proffering grace on the one hand, and of obedience answering by offering on the other. God made the first sacrifice to which man's sacrifices were but response. And we can never come to a depth of sacrifice where God has not been before us and outdone us. If we make our bed in hell He is there.

This is the meeting point of the priestly and prophetic

¹ What infatuation, what overweening is it drives literary and scientific people to set up in a business so severe and so delicate as theology? How thin culture is, as Nietzsche says. Why is their negative dogmatism better than dogmatism capable and positive? Carlyle is still an ethical force, but we have outgrown his religion. Yet men who find they have to give a whole life to physics still have levity enough, not only to admonish, but to rival those who treat theology with the same seriousness. What would be said if one of the theologians who made chemistry a hobby lectured the Royal Society on their antiquated views of the constitution of matter? Theology seems regarded by many brisk spirits as if it were an empty old canister with which any exuberant stripling can alarm the neighbourhood by kicking it along the street.

² The whole secret of treating the Old Testament is the art of disentangling the divine revelation from the popular religion, even within the prophet's own mind, and marking how the one gradually emerged through the other, and shed its shell. There are many fragments of the shell still adhering, even in the revelation of the New Testament, which it is the business of modern criticism to detach.

streams in the old Testament. Obedience everywhere is better than sacrifice. The priest would have said that as honestly as the prophet. The ritual was but an act of obedience. That was its real worth. It was only obedience, and not mere compliance, that gave sacrifice any divine value, and raised it above mere subsidy from us, or mere exaction by God. The sin-offering becomes in its nature a thank-offering. Here Christ consummated the priest no less than the prophet. It is onesided to see in Him only the victory of the prophetic line. His offering of Himself was the Eternal Spirit returning, in complete satisfaction, to God who gave it. It was a case of ethical obedience with the true priest no less than with the true prophet. It was the genuine surrender of the loving, trusting will. Only in the one case it took the form of worship, and in the other of conduct. And for life the one is quite as needful as the other. The obedience of the whole man and the fulness of his life demand both—but each has its own place, and neither can be substituted for the other.

10.

While we can never cease to speak or think of the blood of Christ we must take much pains to interpret its true idea to our modern conditions. If we speak of the sacrifice of Christ we must construe it in the ethical terms demanded by the modern passion for righteousness and presented by its own dominant holiness; and we must for this end avoid such a use of the inevitable imagery as discourages that effort—like the first verse of Cowper's fine hymn, "There is a fountain filled with blood." It is not a mere matter of taste that moves our protest against it.

But do we succeed in this attempt to ethicize when we regard the death, or the cross, of Christ as the supreme glorification of heroic self-sacrifice, moving, and exalting, and

purifying us, as the genius of tragedy is ? Or do we succeed even when we regard the cross simply as the *manifestation*, the great object lesson, of God's love under the arduous conditions of sacrifice ? Or do we succeed when we regard its first and sole object as being to move mankind to repentance, and thus supply the condition of forgiveness, instead of being itself God's act of forgiveness ? Is there anything conveyed by the extreme phrase "the blood of Christ" which is not conveyed by the idea of sacrifice, or the idea of revelation, or the idea of a *Busspredigt* ? Yes. There is one whole side—the side indicated by the words, judgment, expiation, or atonement ; the side which ever since Anselm in theology has magnified the weight and sinfulness of sin, as the sense of God's holiness rose. And this is a side which it is absolutely impossible to drop from Christianity without giving the Gospel quite away in due time. Individuals, of course, can remain Christian while they discard it, but the Church cannot.

We make sacrifices, and costly ones, which yet do not draw blood from us. They do not come home. They do not go to the very centre of our life. They do not touch the nerve or strain the heart. A man may devote the toil of a self-denying life to a book of stupendous research on the gravest subjects, which yet makes no call on his inmost self, and is not written with his blood but only with a sweating brow. We get the toiler in calm research, the genius of scholarly combination perhaps, but not the man. But when we speak of the blood of Christ we mean that what He did drew upon the very citadel of His personality and involved His total self. His whole personality was put into His work and identified with it ; not merely His whole interest or ambition. The saving work of God drew blood from Christ as it drew Christ from God. Christ's work touched the quick of His divinest life, and stirred up all that was

within Him to bless and magnify God's holy name. He poured out His soul unto death. God, in his insatiable holy love, was exigent even on Him, and spared not His own son. Man's sin drew upon all God's Son, and taxed the Holiest to the uttermost. It made call upon what is most deep in Christ and dear to God—Himself, His person, His vital soul, His blood. The love of God is only shed into our hearts in the shedding of that most precious blood.

And, on the other line, we may and we do show love and kindness to those around us with a divine ingenuity and assiduity. But it is not redeeming love. The genius of all philanthropy is not redemption but amelioration. It has not the element of judgment and new creation. It is not the holy, searching, sanctifying love which made the cross of Christ. Indeed there is no weaker feature in much current kindness or affection than its impatience of real criticism, and its lack of courage to bear, or to exercise, it in a helpful and saving way. Very few, for instance, of those who love the people nor would see them wronged, love in such a way as implies courage to tell their clients to their face of the things in them which are more fatal to their progress than all disabilities. And the deadly effects of parental weakness in this way have long formed a moral commonplace—now more common and more in place than ever. 'The appetite for praise is much more keen than for perfection (which is another name for holiness, Matt. v. 48), and love doubts love which ventures on rebuke. So religion takes, in this respect, the colour of the time ; and in preaching a love without judgment swamps conscience in heart, and laps the sin in the warm mist of sympathy for the sinner. Much more is here involved than any orthodoxy. One only cares to deal with a false theology because it is the fatal source of false religion, false ethic, and a false public note. And a true theology is of such

moment because it embodies those ethical powers and acts which sit at the centre of human life and mould the whole course of human history to its destiny. A true theology is the moral philosophy of the Eternal, the ethic of the Eternal, and at the present bewildered hour it is more needed than religion, for the sake of religion.

11.

When we speak of the blood of Christ, then, we mean that what He did involved not simply the *effort* of His whole self (as it might be with any hero taxed to his utmost), but the *exhaustive obedience, submission and surrender* of His total self. But, on the line of judgment just named, we have to go farther in a direction indicated in a passing way already (p. 210). We have to say that it involved obedience of no gratuitous and arbitrary kind, no "voluntary humility," no self-willed, self-chosen obedience, as the manner of some great devotees is. It represents, moreover, no mere historic necessity, rising from Christ's relation to Israel and its past. But there is a divine must. It was complete obedience to the moral requirements of grace, i.e. to a holy grace. The sacrifice of Christ was inevitable by His holiness in such a world; and it was made to the Holy. It was not offered *to* man but *for* man, even when we magnify to the utmost its immense effect *on* man. It was offered to God.

But in saying this what do we say? We have passed upward from the idea of *sacrifice* to the graver idea of *judgment*. We recall the fact that the effusion of blood was a mark not merely of temple ritual but of criminal execution. It was involved not merely in the cultus but in the civil code and social order based on God's righteousness. And full self-sacrifice to a holy God involves by analogy the submission of self to the moral order and judgment of God. Holiness and judgment are for ever inseparable.

The note of judgment runs through the whole genius of Israel's history as surely as do sanctity, submission, salvation and the Kingdom—and especially on its prophetic side. God must either punish sin or expiate it, for the sake of His infrangibly holy nature. Do let us take the holiness of God centrally and seriously, not as an attribute isolated and magnified, but as His very essence, changeless and inexorable. He must inflict punishment or assume it. And He chose the latter course as honouring the law while saving the guilty. It was a course that produced more than all the effect of punishment, and in a better, holier, and more productive way. Expiation, therefore, is the opposite of exacting punishment; it is assuming it. Nor is it exacting the last farthing in any quantitative sense. That is not required in a full, true, and sufficient oblation. The holy law is satisfied by an adequacy short of equivalency, by practical confession and not by exaction; by practical confession which fully gauges the whole moral situation; and by practical confession of the holiness far more than the guilt.¹

And this is the only sense in which Christ from His inmost experience could confess, could confess with His blood. His practical and entire confession of holiness from the midst of sin is the divine significance of His blood. No obedience to a holy God is complete which does not recognize His judgment, and recognize it in the practical way of action, by accepting it—not necessarily in amount but in principle; not equivalently, as to amount of suffering, but adequately, as to confession of sanctity; and confession of it in act and suffering. And who but God could adequately confess in action the holiness of God?

Love in sacrifice means pain. But for holy love it means

¹ Here McLeod Campbell and Moberly seem to me to come short. They do not get their eye sufficiently away from the confession of sin.

moral pain. And moral pain is something more than passive; it is active. It is not the pain of a sting merely, but of wrath; the pain not of a wrong but of rectifying it; not of grief but of judgment. Holiness must in very love set judgment in the earth. We have here to do then especially with the pain that sin gives to God, in reacting against it, in judging and destroying it. The blood of Christ stands not simply for the sting of sin on God but the scourge of God on sin, not simply for God's sorrow over sin but for God's wrath on sin. It expresses not simply the bleeding of the feet that seek the sinner but the bloodshed of the battle that destroys the prince of this world, that destroys in us the guilty entail, and establishes the holy kingdom. The total self-oblation of man to God means that dread recognition of holiness which from sin's side must be felt as God's wrath; its recognition in experience as judgment; and its recognition on a scale adequate to both God and man in their greatness. Christ's submission to judgment was not simply His experience of doom and suffering as incidents of life, but His submission to them as God's purpose, and His confession of them as asserting the holiness of God and making man's wrath praise Him. It was not merely a collision with historic forces and social powers in Israel, but the recognition, within these, of the holy wrath of God. The necessity of Christ's death was created more deeply by God's holiness in Him than by the perversity of the men it exasperated. No one could reveal a holy God by any amount of suffering or sacrifice which did not recognize this element of judgment,—did not atone. *No real revelation is possible except as Atonement and Redemption*—not with Atonement as a preliminary, but in the form of atonement.

It is this element of judgment, of Atonement, of dealing with a doom, not to say a curse, that is conserved in the

historic and symbolic word blood. The word transcends the mere idea of self-sacrifice by keeping to the front the idea of judgment. It is not death that atones, but that supreme act and expression of holy, obedient life in it which does such justice to God's holiness as the Son alone could, and which is possible only under the conditions of death, do, and of such death as Christ died. The death of Christ was an experience in His life, yet it was the dominant, and at last the crowning one, which gave meaning to all the rest even for Himself, as He came to learn. It was a function of His total life, that function of it which at once faced and effected the saving, the last, judgment of God. His blood was shed in Gethsemane as truly as on Calvary; but it was on Calvary that it rose to found for ever our peace with God. It was there that it rose to establish our evangelical faith in us not as an affection simply but as life-confidence, and self-disposal turning not upon the filling of the hungry heart but upon the stilling of the roused conscience by a complete forgiveness once for all.

12.

We associate blood with ultra-realism. A morbid phase of the tendency is found in the crowds that gather to see the stain of an accident, still more of a murder. That is a case where the blood is treated as a thing, for its own sake, and not significantly as a symbol. But as a symbol it stands for moral realism the most poignant and central. In our religion it means that Christ touches us more nearly and deeply than our pain does, or our guilt. What in us harrows the heart in Him harrowed hell. "Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming." He revolutionizes the eternal foundations of our moral world. But it means also that He came from a region in the moral reality of God deeper than sin or grief could

shake. It signifies the very heart of God, the holy reality of God, an eternal act of the whole God, therefore a final act in the heavenliest places in Christ. In being "made sin" Christ experienced sin as God does, while He experienced its effects as man does. He felt sin with God, and sin's judgment with men. He realized, as God, how real sin was, how radical, how malignant, how deadly to the Holy One's very being. When Christ died at sin's hands it meant that sin was death to the holiness of God, and both could not live in the same world. And, as man, Christ placed His whole self beside man under the judgment of God, beside man in court but on God's side in the issue, confessing God's holiness in the judgment, and justifying His treatment of sin. Justifying God! A missionary to the North American Indians records that having seen his wife and children killed before his eyes, and being himself harried in bonds across the prairie amid his tormentors, he "justified God in this thing." I do not know a sublimer order of experience than from the heart to bless and praise a good and holy God in situations like these. It is to this order of experience that the work, the blood, of Christ belongs. And there is no justification of men except by this justification of God. Never is man so just with God as when his broken, holy heart calls just the judgment of God which he feels but has not himself earned; and never could man be just with God but through God's justification of Himself in the blood of Christ.

We cannot in any theology which is duly ethicized dispense with the word satisfaction. It was of course not a quantitative replacement of anything God had lost, nor was it the glutting of a God's anger by an equivalent suffering on who cares whom. It was no satisfaction of a *jus talionis*. But it was the adequate confession, in act and suffering, "Thou art holy as thou

judgest." We can only understand any justification of man as it is grounded in this justification—this self-justification—of God. The sinner could only be saved by something that thus damned the sin. The Saviour was not punished, but He took the penalty of sin, the chastisement of our peace. It was in no sense as if *He felt* chastised or condemned (as even Calvin said), but because He willingly bowed, with a moral sympathy possible only to the sinless, under the divine ordinance of suffering death and judgment appointed to wait on the sin of His kin. The blood of Christ cleanseth from *all* sin. The metaphor denotes the radicality, totality, and finality of the whole action in the realism of the moral world—which even high sacrifice, not resisting unto blood, only slurs or shelves—when it does not toy with it.

It is notable that Christ speaks of His blood only at His life's end, while during life He spoke only of forgiving grace without any such expiation (except in the ransom passage). Why was this so? Was it not, first, because His grand total witness, which death but pointed, was to the grace of God's holy love; and the exposure of sin could only come by the light of that revelation? And was it not, second, because His revelation and offer of holy grace without sacrifice and judgment failed of its effect; because even the great, uplifted, and joyful *invitation*, "Come unto me," failed till it was *enacted* from the mighty gloom of the cross; because in Christ mere prophetism, stern or tender, found its greatest failure; because, as prophet, He could neither make His own cleave to Him, nor make the people see how much more than prophet He was; He could not keep them from murdering their Messiah? But, according to Old Testament ideas, this murder was the consummation of high-handed sin, of the kind of sin that had no expiation, that was unprovided for in the whole economy of grace. There was no grace for the deliberate rejection of consummate grace.

There a new expiation must come in, that would cover even this. The death of Christ expiated even the inexpressible sin that slew Him.

13.

Does it not follow that when we use such a word as "satisfaction" in connexion with the blood of Christ we do not think of meeting with compensation, a mere law formulated or formulable, however holy, far less a divine fury; but of meeting a God of holy love with a love equally holy from the side of sinful man?¹ God is met with a love equally holy—a love, therefore, not rendered by sinful man, but by his divine and sinless representative; and rendered not by way of compromising the case by some pact, judicial or ritual, but so that the Holy Father comes to rest with infinite complacency in the personal achievement of the Holy Son, evermore saying, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased"? Father and Son dwell in each other in mutual personal satisfaction, full and joyful, evermore delighting in each other, and saying each to the other, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Heaven and earth are full of thy glory."

Surely we have the same Christian call to rescue words like "satisfaction" from their popular travesties (and the ignorance or quackery of those who denounce these travesties) as the Apostles had (with an inspired insight) to save the idea of sacrifice and blood for its true and prime significance from its mere tribal *provenance* and from the mere ceremonialism of the day.

P. T. FORSYTH.

¹ The holiness of God is God as holy, just as "the decrees of God are God decreeing."

THE BRIEF VISIT TO CORINTH.

It has generally been assumed by those who believe in an intermediate visit of St. Paul to Corinth between the writing of 1 Corinthians and of 2 Corinthians,¹ that the visit is to be explained by entirely changed circumstances in the church. The new trouble was rising, though it had not come to a head ; Paul crossed the sea to quell it, but in vain. He suffered a painful collapse in the presence of his enemies and returned to Ephesus a broken man, though later he succeeded in accomplishing by letter, and by the mediation of Titus, what he had failed to achieve in person. It is possible ; it is interesting, dramatic, touching ; but there is a great deal of evidence against it. Of course we must not ignore the evidence in its favour. One of the keynotes of 2 Corinthians, in both its parts, earlier and closing chapters alike, is "weakness." This makes it very probable that things happened at the painful intermediate meeting which confirmed the impression in vulgar minds : "He a saint of God ? Your Paul is a weakling." It is true this view can hardly be regarded as certain. Conceivably, as often as St. Paul was face to face with his converts—strange many-sided man that he was—he created mainly an impression of gentleness "as when a nurse cherisheth her own children" (1 Thess. ii. 7). It may have been as unexpected as it was unwelcome to those who held him cheap when he began thundering at them in his letters (2 Cor. x. 10). We might set aside an isolated hint of disparagement as indicating merely that they despised his lack of Grecian grace ; but the passages are too numerous ; and therefore it remains more probable that somehow, on his visit of severity and amendment, he showed his softer side, not to say his limitations.

But the fiction of a collapse or entire breakdown must be

¹ See *Corinth and the Tragedy of St. Paul* in EXPOSITOR for July.

repelled ; and that for several reasons. (1) He assures the Corinthians that his only motive for changing his plan of travel—for breaking his word to them, if they liked to put it so—was that he might “ spare them ” (2 Cor. i. 23). In other words, he was perfectly confident still of his apostolical authority and of his power to compel their recognition of it. To speak as he does would be a falsehood if he had already tried by his personal presence to quell the storm, and had failed. More, it would be a blunder of the kind that are “ worse than crimes.” How could he utter such boasts, if unfounded, in the presence of those who had lately been estranged from him, and might rebel again ?

(2) Paul, in writing his letter of reconciliation to the Corinthians, tells them how terribly he had suffered “ in Asia ” (2 Cor. i. 8). It was not then while he was at Corinth that the worst sufferings in which that church had a sad interest were caused. It was not to his face that the most shameless calumnies were uttered, but later and behind his back. Even Dr. Massie,¹ who believes in the dramatic collapse of St. Paul, slips into a truer view when expounding the verse just quoted ; “ probably ” it “ refers to the deadly nervous prostration he endured at Ephesus after he had received news of the Corinthian desertion at its worst.” Quite so ; but had it not been at the very “ worst ” sooner, if he was defied and insulted to his face ? The belief in such a scene is “ improbable, though shared by many commentators. . . . We cannot see why Paul did not secure satisfaction on the spot, if he was present when the insult was launched ”² ; or alternatively (as has been said above) we cannot see how Paul could be confident in regard to the future if he had failed in the past.

¹ Century Bible, *ad loc.*

² Bousset. On some points, however, Bousset is disposed to acquiesce in uncertainty and vagueness. That course avoids the dangers of hypothesis, but forfeits its advantages.

(3) There is another consideration which seems to be of importance, though I have not seen attention drawn to it. Paul indicates (vii. 14) that there had been some difference of opinion between Titus and himself. He had "gloried" to Titus of the fundamental, permanent loyalty of the Corinthians; and facts justified him. We cannot wonder, upon any view, if Titus shrank from the terrible task assigned him, or if he tended to form a gloomier estimate than Paul himself of the state of the Corinthian church. Yes; but with what moral right could Paul give these assurances if he had been openly flouted? Or with what propriety could he tell another and a younger man that it "would all end happily" when sending Titus into the hornets' nest and remaining himself at a safe distance? Therefore, while we must believe in an intermediate visit, we cannot think that it was the season or scene of the insult to St. Paul. Whatever painful things happened here (ii. 1), there was no disastrous collapse, no helpless failure.

But, if the new troubles followed rather than called forth Paul's brief visit, we must find some other motive for his going to Corinth. Perhaps we may recognize this in the scandal of 1 Corinthians v.; it will not do, within a brief space of time, to multiply supposed troubles in that church great enough to interrupt Paul's work at Ephesus (1 Cor. xvi. 9). This is a trouble which we know of; and assuredly it was grave. The interpretation we are proposing is all the better if in some respects it coincides with traditional views. We must expect to trace a continuous development in the situation at Corinth. It has been argued above that the later situation was new, yet nothing is more probable than that it grew straight out of the older trouble. Here one may notice a plea put forward on the traditional side in defence of the unity of 2 Corinthians, and of all that goes with that assumption, by Dean Bernard.¹ Paul suspects (xii. 21) a

¹ *Expositor's Greek Test.*

leaven of secret vice in his enemies. The opposition to him is by no means unconnected with a lax view of sexual sin. We hold this to be a fair inference, and a valuable guiding clue; but we think that justice can be done to it without blinding ourselves to those other facts which show that changes had taken place. The old leaven still worked for evil. Yet it took new forms, and blended with fresh elements of mischief.

Has the question ever been fairly faced,¹ how 1 Corinthians v. was likely to be received at Corinth? Let us recall to mind the facts. The church, all sections apparently,² had combined in a letter to St. Paul, which laid before him point by point those topics on which they felt their need of guidance. Yet this ugly scandal was nowhere mentioned. It came to him by rumour—good rumour, not idle gossip; rumour which he was in a position to verify, had that been necessary, by cross-examining the church's delegates; notorious rumour indeed—still, it was only by this accidental notoriety that Paul learned of it. The matter formed no part of the church's report to their founder. They preferred to deal with it themselves, not upon Pauline lines. The Greek or Pagan spirit was so strong, the charm of enlightenment so great (1 Cor. v. 2), that the whole church was for a policy of acquiescence. That being so, how is Paul's thunderbolt likely to be received? Not surely with immediate submission! It is anything but strange if he finds that he has to cross the Ægean in order to make sure of obedience, and if he judges it worth while to do so.

Again, has it been pondered with sufficient care what is likely to have been the fate of the unhappy offender? We

¹ I learn from Drescher's article in *Studien u. Kritiken*, for 1897, that the question has at least been raised by Klöpfer and in a sense by Heinrici.

² The argument would only be strengthened if we held that it was the special friends of Paul who wrote to him.

all, in these modern times, shrink from believing too robustly in miracles. Even Cardinal Newman, describing in *Callista* a successful case of exorcism, leaves Juba in a crushed condition, half rational, half a man. They thought differently in Bible days. Paul himself, in the Epistles now before us, tells us, as a thing no one could question, what miracles he had wrought at Corinth—"the signs of an apostle . . . signs and wonders and mighty works" (2 Cor. xii. 12). He was in dead earnest when he doomed the man to bodily death for his soul's salvation. He expected the sentence to be executed.

But, it may be said, what if the man repented? Professor Findlay¹—why, I do not know, except that the other view is painful—takes repentance for granted. Would even repentance arrest such a sentence? There is the "leading case" of Job; he fell into deep misery at the Satan's hands, but he was restored again. Yes; but Satan's instructions in regard to Job were carefully limited: at first he might touch everything dear to Job except his person; then he might touch his person but not his life. *Of course* this left restoration possible; it was Job's delusion—natural, but groundless—that God was embittered against him, and that a miserable death was impending. St. Paul, as prosecuting counsel on behalf of the King of heaven, had demanded a very different penalty, or had suggested very different instructions to Satan. Were they really revocable? Ought even an apostle to fulminate a death sentence—for the offender's own salvation, too!—if a little sorrow, a decorous amendment, may serve as a substitute? We should surely take for granted that Paul expected, and even—dreadful thought!—in a sense desired, the man's death.

¹ Expositor's Greek Test. *ad loc.* Prof. Findlay also says that, if Paul succeeded in this matter, no one afterwards at Corinth could call him weak. Christ encountered unbelief and scoffing. Had Christ wrought no wonders?

We assume then that 1 Corinthians was received, read, evaded. There was no definite refusal to obey ; but the case was hung up, and Paul's representatives could gather that nothing was to be done. Paul therefore is summoned, and presses for the church's concurrence in the awful sentence. That had been part of his original programme ; he and the church were to act together (1 Cor. v. 3, 4). For this very reason he does not rely on his personal authority alone. He strains every nerve to carry them with him ; he seems to make headway, but nothing is yet decided. Suddenly—one may conjecture—the case settles itself ; the man dies. There is not of necessity an Ananias scene. There may have been ! The lightning from St. Paul's eye might well blast the soul pertinaciously guilty of a scandalous life, if the offender sat in his place in the assemblage. Or as Paul pleaded, and the church, half-convinced, still hung back, a messenger may have burst in with the news : “ You need debate it no longer. *He is dead.*” Fanciful, perhaps, in detail ; but does it not grow naturally out of the known situation ? It needs no argument that such a visit would indeed be a visit ἐν λύπῃ, and such a triumph almost more terrible than failure. It would shake the tender heart of Paul to its very depths. He was not the man to press his advantage home. If he swooned or sickened on receiving the news, it would be no wise unworthy of his great and gentle spirit ; yet the half-sullen minds of certain Corinthians, themselves perhaps not impeccable, might receive an impression of weakness from his behaviour, if it did not even suggest darker suspicions. And yet for the moment surely all opposition to his wishes would disappear. And he might return, with very little delay, to the work that called him at Ephesus. And, before leaving, he would give the promise as to his future movements, which he afterwards retracted. *If there was an intermediate visit, he must then have spoken of a future*

visit. Yes, I'll come back soon. I'll come right **across**. I'll travel by you into Macedonia, and from Macedonia return to you a second time (2 Cor. i. 16).

He left, of necessity. Hardly had he left, when a band of Judaizing fanatics reached Corinth. Or, if they had been already present—quiet and undetected; awaiting their opportunity—they saw their chance now and began to get to work. Their policy here¹ was to attack Paul the man, and thus indirectly but effectually discredit his Gospel. Everything he had done or been or said was questionable—not exactly wrong; at first, that certainly would not be affirmed; but they would untiringly “hint a doubt and hesitate dislike.” He came to you without a certificate of Christian character?² Really these precautions—mere forms in general, mere forms with him; oh, certainly, certainly—but they ought never to be omitted! By the way, have you seen my own certificate? Here it is: I should like every one to see it. Look, there are the names of some of the apostles on it—the Jerusalem apostles, I mean of course; *dear* men! Such a privilege to know them! It gives one an idea what a servant of Christ may be!—He took no salary from you, did he? It was generous? My friend, he didn't dare.³ He wasn't confident of his position. But it's amiable in you to take the charitable view of the man. Yet did I not hear something about a collection? For Jerusalem? Well, you make me smile! You may accept my assurance that not a penny of this celebrated “collection for the saints” has got to Jerusalem. It isn't likely to do so! These accounts will never be audited!⁴ Oh, it's a pretty game⁵ to surrender the small profits and play for the high stakes!—He's vain,⁶ he's always praising himself.—He's cunning;⁷

¹ In Galatia the policy had included further elements.

² iii. 1. ³ 1 Cor. ix. 4 14, 15. ⁴ 2 Cor. viii. 20, 21.

⁵ xii. 16. ⁶ iii. 1, xi. 16. ⁷ xii. 16.

he made a fair show, I've no doubt. You poor things never saw the man as he really is. He's a wonderful fellow—at a distance ;¹ very brave—with the pen ! But what a poor creature he is when you get him in a room with you ! He can't even *speak* like an educated gentleman. It's " contemptible ! "—By the way, I wonder whether he writes those celebrated Epistles himself ? Perhaps he is the sort of clever fellow who pulls the strings and gets others to do the work. He does write himself, did you say ? [Through an amanuensis ? Ah ! By the way, aren't there other names as well as his at the head of these letters ? Yes ? I thought so. I wonder now what kind of epistle it would be, if Paul wrote quite by himself !²—And what cruelty ! The man " destroys " the church with those ruthless sentences of his !³

But beyond all these lay the really damning charge. These are strange illnesses he suffers from, are they not ? Your poor brother so-and-so, who died under a cloud, and is hardly cold in his grave yet, was in " Satan's " hands, was he, for his sins ? Then in whose hands is the holy Paul when he falls into fits or faintings ?⁴ He works cures ; why doesn't he cure himself ? No one who was in good standing with God could be allowed to suffer as he does.⁵ Our God is just ! Our God is faithful to His friends ; and He knows how to deal with hypocrites, too. That man rebuke sin ! Black and rotten at the heart—black and rotten at the heart—if we could only see it without disguise ! So the innuendo culminated ;⁶ and we can hardly doubt that, like other schismatic patrons of a higher sanctity, these critics passed sentence on themselves by appealing to all the discontented, and by joining hands, in defiance of their own most serious principles, with the lax school. Paul was wrong because he was a sick man, and therefore a bad man. Paul was also

¹ x. 10.² x. 1.³ x. 8, xiii. 10.⁴ xii. 7.⁵ iv. 12, xii. 9, etc.⁶ xiii. 6.

wrong because he was "so hard" in checking vice at Corinth.

The Judaizers' campaign over-reached itself. It was only too successful. At some meeting of the church, one of its members—not one of the godly visitors from Palestine—took up the charges hinted or whispered by the intriguers, made them his own, dotted every I, crossed every T, and shouted the accusations in public. One thinks of this new party to the quarrel as a good-hearted, wrong-headed child of impulse, honest and well-meaning, but a fool. "He *must* say it! He had feared it before, he was convinced of it now; the good friends from Jerusalem had opened his eyes. He was in their debt. The whole church was in their debt. Paul was a bad man—a worthless hypocrite!" And the whole array of proofs came tumbling out. The Judaizers might have been glad to carry on their campaign of secret calumny for a little longer. But their hand was now forced; and they doubtless supported their champion's remarks with some inward anger at his folly, and with many verbal professions of reluctance, through which their real animus peeped at every phrase. The church was in an uproar. It did not accept the outrageous charges, but it was not in a state to silence them.

And so the news came to Paul. He had been ill at Corinth under the pressure of his sad experiences there—his terrible experiences, if they were in the least such as we have conjectured. He now quickly grew worse. Not in a mere phrase, but in sober earnest, he thought it would kill him. And it was nothing less than a miracle of God's goodness to find strength presently returning to his shattered nerves, and a faint dawn of hope illuminating the despair of his mind (i. 8-10).

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

VIII.

THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH—VISIONAL AND APPARITIONAL THEORIES.

It has been seen that the facts of the historical witness for the Resurrection form a chain of evidence extending from the empty grave on the morning of the third day and the message of the women, through the successive appearances of Jesus in Jerusalem and Galilee, till the day that He was finally “taken up”¹ into heaven in the view of His disciples. On these facts was based, in the immediate witnesses, the firm conviction, which nothing could shake, that their Lord, who had been crucified, had risen from the dead, and had been exalted to heavenly dominion. Their testimony, held fast to under the severest trial of privation, suffering, and death, was public, and no attempt was ever made, so far as is known, to refute their assertion. The effects of the faith in the first disciples, and in the hearts and lives of their converts, were of a nature to establish that they were the victims of no illusion; that they built on rock, not sand.

For this is the point next to be observed: the historical evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus is not all the evidence. As the Resurrection had its antecedents in the history and claims of Jesus, so it had its *results*. Pentecost is such a result. The Apostolic Church is such a result. The conversion of St. Paul, the Epistles of the New Testament, the Spirit-filled lives of a multitude of believers are such results. The Church founded on the Apostolic witness has endured for nineteen centuries. Christian experience throughout all these ages is a fact

¹ Acts i. 2.

which only a Living Christ can explain or sustain. The Apostle speaks of the "power" of Christ's Resurrection.¹ That which continuously exerts "power" is a demonstrable reality.

There is space only for a glance at one or two of these results in the Apostolic Age.

1. The *Day of Pentecost*, in the Book of Acts, is the *sequel* to the Resurrection and Ascension. "Being, therefore," said St. Peter, "by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Spirit, He hath poured forth this, which ye do see and hear."² The cavils which have been raised against the general historicity of the first chapters of the Acts, which narrate the outpouring of the Spirit, and the origin of the Church at Jerusalem,³ are met, apart from the note of clear remembrance and full information in the narrative itself, by one single consideration. It is as incredible that the Mother of all the Churches—the undoubted seat of Apostolic residence and activity for many years—should have been unaware of, or have forgotten, the circumstances of its own origin, as that, say, Germany should forget its Reformation by Luther, or America its Declaration of Independence.

2. The crucial fact of *St. Paul's conversion* took place at most five or six years after the Resurrection.⁴ It happened, therefore, when the original witnesses were still alive and located at Jerusalem, and when remembrance had as yet no time to grow obscure, or tradition to become corrupted or perverted. Three years later St. Paul lodged

¹ Phil. iii. 10.

² Acts ii. 33.

³ Even Harnack, who partly shares in the objection, admits that "the instances of alleged incredibility have been much exaggerated by critics" (*Lukas der Arzt*, p. 88).

⁴ The dates range from 31-2 A.D. (Harnack), 33 (Ramsay), 35-6 (Conybeare and Howson, Turner.

for a fortnight with St. Peter¹—chief of the Apostles—at Jerusalem, and there also met James, the Lord's brother. Then, if not before, he must have made himself familiar with the chief details of the Jerusalem tradition regarding Christ's death and Resurrection. Earlier, while yet a persecutor, he had shared in the martyrdom of that precursor of his own, St. Stephen, who, in dying, had the vision of Jesus in heaven waiting to receive his departing spirit.²

No fewer than three times in the Book of Acts the circumstances of St. Paul's vision of Jesus on the way to Damascus are narrated,³ and it can scarcely be doubted by any one who accepts St. Luke's authorship of the Book that the information which these accounts contain was derived originally from St. Paul's own lips.⁴ This, again, alone should suffice to set aside the contradiction which some have imagined between the Apostle's own conception of his conversion and the narratives in Acts, as well as the charge of vital contradictions in the narratives themselves.⁵ As penned by the same writer, in the compass of the same work, the accounts must, in all reason, be supposed to be in harmony with each other to author's own thought, whatever critics may now choose to make of them.

It is not necessary to discuss at length the reality and objectivity of this appearance of the glorified Jesus to Saul the persecutor, when his mad rage against the saints

¹ Gal. i. 18. ² Acts vii. 51-60.

³ Acts. ix. 1-22; xxii. 1-16; xxvi. 1-18.

⁴ The first is St. Luke's narrative; the second is in St. Paul's defence before Lysias, when St. Luke was probably present (a "we" section); the third is in St. Paul's defence before Agrippa, when St. Luke again was probably present.

⁵ Particulars given in one narrative and not in another are not contradictions. The writer being the same, the particulars must in each case have been known to him, though not expressed.

was in full career. The sudden and revolutionary change then wrought, with its lasting moral and spiritual effects, is one which no "kicking against the goads"¹ in Saul's conscience, or "explosion" of the forces of the subliminal consciousness which had been silently gathering to a head, can satisfactorily explain. Objective elements are implied in the great light, "above the brightness of the sun," that suddenly shone around the whole company, causing all, as the longer narrative shows, to fall to the ground, and in the voice which all heard, though Saul alone apprehended its articulate purport.² It is not so clear whether Saul not simply heard the Lord speak,³ but beheld His form in the heavenly glory. That the latter, really, was the case, is suggested by the contrast in the words used of his companions, "hearing the voice, but beholding no man,"⁴ and by the words of St. Paul himself, "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?"⁵ Most certain it is that St. Paul himself was absolutely convinced, both at the time of the vision and ever after, of the reality of Christ's appearance to him, and of the call he then received to be the Apostle of the Gentiles. Accordingly, he confidently ranks the appearance to himself with those to the other Apostles.⁶ With the outward vision went an inward revelation of God's Son to his soul⁷—outward and inward combining to effect an entire transformation in his conceptions of God, man, Christ, the world: everything.⁸ This was the turning-point in St. Paul's history; a turning-point, also, in the history of Christianity. Before, Christ's enemy, he was now Christ's devoted slave"

¹ Acts xxvi. 14. ² Cf. Acts ix. 3, 7; xxvi. 13, 14.

³ Weizsäcker and Loisy urge that St. Paul only saw a light and heard words.

⁴ Acts ix. 7.

⁵ 1 Cor. ix. 1.

⁶ 1 Cor. xv. 8.

⁷ Gal. i.—xv. 16.

⁸ Cf. 2 Cor. v. 16.

(δοῦλος) and Apostle. The Spirit that thenceforward wrought in him with mightiest results was the surest attestation of the genuineness of his experience.

3. In the prominence naturally given to the testimony of St. Paul, it should not be overlooked how pervasive is the witness of the *entire New Testament* to this same great primary fact of the Lord's Resurrection. It was seen that St. Peter was one of the first to whom Jesus appeared. But St. Peter has left an Epistle (the question of the second Epistle may here be waived), which rings throughout with the joyful hope and confidence begotten by the Resurrection of Jesus from the dead.¹ Jesus appeared to St. James; and St. James has likewise an Epistle which extols Jesus as "the Lord of glory," and looks for His coming as nigh at hand.² St. John also, in Gospel, Epistle, and Apocalypse, presupposes or declares the Resurrection. The hope he holds out to believers is that, when He—Jesus—shall be "manifested," they shall be like Him, for they shall see Him even as He is.³

The historical attestation of the Resurrection in the New Testament has now been examined, and, so far as the inquiry has gone, the Resurrection of Jesus, as the foundation of the faith, hope, and life of the Church, stands fast. But the question will still be pressed—Is there no alternative conclusion? Is it not possible that the facts which appear to render support to the belief in the Resurrection in the Apostolic Age may be explained in another way? It has already been seen that this is the contention of a large class of writers in our own day. It has also been made apparent that there is as yet little approach to agreement among them in the rival theories they advance to supplant the Apostolic belief. The study of these

¹ 1 Pet. i. 3, 21; iii, 21, 22.

² Jas. ii. 1; v. 7-9.

³ John iii. 2.

“modern” theories may, indeed, well be ranked as a supplementary chapter in the exhibition of the positive evidence for the Resurrection. It is in this corroborative light it is proposed here principally to regard them.

The two main pillars of belief in the Resurrection were found to be the empty tomb on the morning of the third day, and the actual appearances of the Risen Lord to His disciples.

1. Some light has already been cast on the various expedients by which it is attempted in the newer theories to get rid of the fact of the *empty tomb*. Either, as by not a few, the story is treated as unhistorical,¹ and round-about attempts are made to explain its origin by inference from the (visionary) appearances to the disciples in Galilee ; or, granting a basis of fact in the narratives, it is conjectured that the body of Jesus had been secretly removed from the tomb, and disposed of elsewhere ; or, as by Professor Lake, it is supposed that the women made a mistake in the tomb which they visited. These curiosities of theory need not be further dwelt upon. Christian people to whom they are offered may be excused for echoing the lament of Mary Magdalene : “ They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him.”² For the critics do not even profess to know where the body of Jesus was put. The disciples, indeed, are now usually exonerated from participation in a deliberate fraud, and speculation varies between Pilate, the Sanhedrim, and Joseph of Arimathæa as persons who may have removed the body. Others, more wisely, leave the matter in the vagueness of ignorance.³ There remains the fact

¹ “ An empty grave was never seen by any disciple of Jesus ” (A. Meyer, p. 213).

² John xx. 11.

³ Thus Renan ; now also Loisy. The latter says : “ It appears useless to discuss here the different hypotheses regarding the removal of

which cannot be got over—a fact fatal to all this arbitrary theorizing—that within a few weeks at most of the Crucifixion, at Pentecost and in the days immediately thereafter—the disciples, raised from despair to a joyful confidence which nothing could destroy, were, as already told, boldly and publicly proclaiming in the streets of the very city where Jesus had been crucified that He was risen from the dead ; were maintaining the same testimony before the tribunals ; were stirring the city, and making thousands of converts. Yet not the least attempt was made, either by the rulers or by any one else interested, to stay the movement, and silence the preachers, as might easily have been done, had their testimony been false, by pointing to where the body of Jesus still lay, or by showing how it had come to be removed from the tomb in which it had, after the Crucifixion, to the knowledge of all, been deposited. *Did not* in this case spells *could not*, and the empty tomb remains an unimpeachable witness to the truth of the message that the Lord had risen.

2. If the empty tomb cannot be got rid of, may it not at least be possible to show that *the appearances of Jesus* can be explained on another hypothesis than that of a physical Resurrection—either by subjective hallucinations, which is the older form of the visional theory, or, if that be thought inadequate, by real apparitions of the (spiritually) risen Christ, which is the form of theory now preferred by many ? The aim, in both of these classes of theories, is to relieve the mind from the difficulty of believing in an actual rising of the body from the grave ; in other words, to do away with the physical miracle. Only, while the purely visional theory takes away all

the body [assumed by the critic to be a fact], whether by Joseph of Arimathæa, or by the proprietor of the tomb, or by the orders of the Sanhedrim, or by Mary of Bethany, or by the Apostles there ” (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, ii. p. 720).

ground for belief in the Resurrection, the other, or apparitional, by substituting a spiritual rising for the corporeal, and allowing real manifestations of the Risen Jesus, proposes in a certain way to conserve that belief. Is this admissible? It is hoped that a brief examination will make clear how far either theory is from furnishing a tenable explanation of the facts it has to deal with.

(1) Attention has to be called, first, to an interesting fact which has already been repeatedly alluded to in the course of these discussions. It is to be noted with regard to most of these modern visional and apparitional theories that, in complete break with tradition, they feel the necessity of *transferring the appearances of Jesus from Jerusalem*, where the earlier of them are related to have happened, *to the more remote region of Galilee*, and so of dissociating them wholly from the message of the women at the tomb.¹ A slight qualification is that some are disposed to see in St. Luke's narrative of the appearance at Emmaus a reminiscence of appearances in the *neighbourhood* of Jerusalem.² But the greater appearances—all those included in the list of St. Paul in 1 Corinthians xv. 3–8—are transported without further ado to Galilee.

The advantage of this change of *locale* for the theory is obvious. It separates the visions from the events of the Easter morning, gives time for visions to develop, transfers them to scenes where memory and imagination may be supposed to be more prepared to work, frees them from the control of the hard realities of the situation. As Strauss puts it: "If the transference of the appearances to Galilee disengages us from the third day as the period of the commencement of them, the longer time

¹ Thus Strauss, Keim, Weizsäcker, Pfleiderer, Harnack, O. Holtzmann, Lake, Loisy, etc.

² Thus A. Meyer (pp. 134, 136); Lake (pp. 218–19).

thus gained makes the reaction in the minds of the disciples more conceivable.”¹

The real course of events after the Crucifixion is alleged to be unmistakably indicated by the statement of the Evangelists: “They [the disciples] all left Him and fled” (whither should they flee but to their old home?), supported as this is by the words of Jesus: “It is written, I will smite the shepherd,” etc., which He expressly connects with His going before them into Galilee;² and again by the fact that St. Mark and St. Matthew point to Galilee as the place of Christ’s meeting with His disciples.³ It is true that St. Luke and St. John—in part also St. Matthew—locate the first appearances in Jerusalem; but this representation, declared to be irreconcilable with the other, is promptly set aside as unhistorical.⁴ Internal probability is likewise claimed in favour of Galilee.⁵ To Galilee, therefore, without hesitation, all the leading appearances of Jesus—the appearance to St. Peter, the appearances to the Apostles, to the five hundred, to St. James, etc.—are carried.⁶

It is not difficult to show that this hypothesis, directly opposed as it is to nine-tenths of the tradition we possess, has no real foothold even in the facts alleged in its support.⁷ To give it any colour, it is necessary to get behind

¹ *New Life of Jesus*, i. p. 437.

² Matt. xxvi. 31, 32, 56; Mark xiv. 27, 28, 50; John xvi. 32.

³ Matt. xxviii. 7; Mark xvi. 7.

⁴ “This last conception is irreconcilable with the first” (Strauss, i. p. 435). “Now these two representations are irreconcilable” (Weizsäcker, i. p. 2). “This is evidently not genuine but coloured history” (Keim, vi. p. 284).

⁵ Strauss, i. pp. 436–7.

⁶ Keim is emphatic: “These appearances of Jesus took place, according to the plainest evidence, in Galilee, not in Jerusalem” (p. 281). “Nothing can be plainer than that all the appearances are to be located in the mother country of Christianity” (p. 283).

⁷ For a criticism of the theory, cf. Loofs, *Die Auferstehungsberichte*, pp. 18–25. Loofs, however, is himself arbitrary in transferring all the appearances to Jerusalem.

the tradition even in St. Mark, the supposed original, and in St. Matthew, and to reinterpret the *data* in a way fatal to the good sense and veracity of the narratives. There is nothing in St. Matthew, St. Mark, or St. John to countenance the idea that the "scattering" and "fleeing" of the disciples had reference to a flight into Galilee. On the very night of the "fleeing" St. Peter is found in the High Priest's place.¹ The threefold denial into which he was there betrayed does not look like a purpose to go at once into Galilee. St. Matthew and St. Mark, again, who announce that Jesus will go before the disciples into Galilee, as plainly imply that the disciples to whom the message is sent are still in Jerusalem.² St. Matthew himself records an appearance in Jerusalem in which the same direction to go into Galilee is embodied.³ St. John predicts the "scattering,"⁴ yet gives detailed accounts of the meetings in Jerusalem. It is not easy to see, therefore, how Keim can suppose that his words "preserve the reminiscence that they [the disciples] fled towards their home, that is, towards Galilee."⁵ St. Luke knew something of St. Paul's beliefs. He must have known something also of St. Paul's understanding of the locality of the appearances in 1 Corinthians xv. Yet he places the appearance to St. Peter in Jerusalem on the very day of the Resurrection.⁶ And where is there the least evidence that St. Paul, who knew Jerusalem, but never mentions Galilee, intended all the appearances he enumerates to be located in that region?

There *were* Galilean appearances. St. Matthew tells

¹ Matt. xxvi. 58; Mark xiv. 54.

² This is supposed to be an expedient to cover the earlier disgrace of the flight. Cf. Loofs in criticism (p. 20).

³ Matt. xxviii. 9, 10.

⁴ John xvi. 32.

⁵ *Jesus of Nazara*, vi. p. 283.

⁶ Luke xxiv. 34.

of one, St. Mark probably intended to tell of one, St. John tells of one. But how extremely unlikely, assuming that the departure into Galilee was simply a chance scattering, that the eleven Apostles should be found on different occasions convened to receive visions? Or that above five hundred brethren should be brought together in that region, without previous appointment, for a similar purpose? Or that immediately afterwards Apostles and disciples should be found back at Jerusalem, a united body, animated by a common purpose and hope, and ready to testify at all hazards that Jesus had been raised *from the tomb*?

The theory of the transference of the earlier appearances to Galilee being discarded as one which a sound treatment of the sources cannot justify, the way is cleared for a judgment on the *visional* and *apparitional* theories which are put forward to explain the appearances themselves.

(2) The theory of *subjective visions*, or *mental hallucinations*—though its glaring weaknesses have often been exposed, by none more effectively than by Keim himself—is still the favourite with many.¹ Visions, under excitement, or in persons of a high-strung, nervous temperament, especially among ascetics, are an often-recurring phenomenon in religious history.² Visions, too, in an emotional atmosphere, are contagious. Here then, it may be thought, is a principle which can be invoked to

¹ It was the theory of Strauss and Renan, and is favoured by Weizsäcker, Harnack, A. Meyer, O. Holtzmann, Loisy, etc.

² See the long chapter of instances in A. Meyer, *Die Auferstehung Christi*, pp. 217–70. Cf. Keim, iv. pp. 346–8: “Thus, not to speak of the Old and New Testaments with their long lists of examples, Maximilla and the Montanists saw Christ, the Maid of Orleans received the Archangel Michael and SS. Catherine and Margaret, Francis of Assisi saw the Lord as a seraph, and Savonarola looked upon both obscure and clear pictures of the future through the ordinary ministry of angels. In the same way, the eccentric Mohammed, the pious Swedenborg, the illuminated bookseller Nicolai, have had visions,” etc. (p. 346).

furnish an easy and natural explanation of the abnormal experiences of the disciples after the Resurrection. From St. Paul's "vision" of Jesus on the way to Damascus, it is argued that the earlier appearances he enumerates must have been visionary also.

The forms which the vision-theory assumes are legion. Renan's is the most naïve, idyllic, and fanciful. Renan has no difficulty with the appearances at Jerusalem. According to him, the minds of the disciples swam in a delicious intoxication almost from the hour of the Crucifixion. "Heroes do not die."¹ Their Master must rise again. It was Mary Magdalene who set the train of visions in motion.² In the garden she believed that she saw and heard Jesus.³ Divine hallucination! Her enthusiasm gave to the world a resuscitated god!⁴ Others at once caught the infection.⁵ The most trifling incidents—"a current of air, a creaking window, a casual murmur"⁶—sufficed to start a vision. St. Peter's vision (which St. Paul misunderstood) was really his glimpse of the white grave-clothes in the tomb.⁷ The disciples at Emmaus, in their rapture, mistook the "pious Jew" who had expounded to them the Scriptures for Jesus. Suddenly he had vanished!⁸ A breath of wind made the disciples in the closed room think they recognized Jesus. "It was impossible to doubt; Jesus was present; He was there, in the assembly."⁹ Visions multiplied on every hand.¹⁰ Sometimes, "during meal time, Jesus was seen

¹ *Les Apôtres*, p. 3.

² "Mary alone loved enough to dispense with nature, and to have revived the phantom of the perfect Master . . . The glory, then, of the Resurrection belongs to Mary Magdalene" (pp. 12, 13).

³ "The vision gently receded, and said to [her]: 'Touch Me not. Gradually the shadow disappeared'" (p. 11).

⁴ *Vie de Jésus*, p. 434; *Les Apôtres*, p. 13.

⁵ *Les Apôtres*, pp. 16, 17.

⁶ P. 22.

⁷ P. 12.

⁸ Pp. 20-1.

⁹ P. 22.

¹⁰ "Visions were multiplied without number" (p. 25). There is not a word in the narratives to countenance this.

to appear, taking the bread, blessing it, breaking it, and offering it.”¹ When the enthusiasm chilled, the disciples revived it by going in a joyous company to Galilee.² There they had new experiences.³ It was all too lovely to last, so by and by the excitement died away, and the visions ceased!⁴

The falsetto note in these descriptions is all too obvious, and sober-minded advocates of the vision hypothesis usually now take another, if hardly more successful, line. Jerusalem, as has been seen, is abandoned as too near the scene of events; the third day also is set aside as affording too little time for the recovery of the disciples from despair. But Galilee, whither the disciples are carried, with its memories and tender associations, revives hope, and brings back the image of the Master. One day, perhaps by the Lake of Galilee (a reminiscence is discerned in St. John xxi.⁵), St. Peter sees a bright light, or something of the kind, and fancies it is Jesus.⁶ By a mysterious telepathy, his experience affects the remaining Apostles, who happen to be gathered together, and they also have visions. The contagion spreads, and on another occasion 500 brethren at once have visions. By and by the visions cease as suddenly as they began. Returning to Jerusalem, the Apostles are met by the women, and for the first time (thus Professor Lake, etc.) hear of the empty tomb. Their faith is confirmed, and the women are established by the visions in their conviction that Jesus is risen.

¹ P. 26.

² “In a melancholy mood, they thought of the lake and of the beautiful mountains where they had received a foretaste of the Kingdom of God. . . . The majority of the disciples then departed, full of joy and hope, perhaps in the company of the caravan, which took back the pilgrims from the Feast of the Passover” (pp. 28, 29).

³ “The visions, at first, on the lake appear to have been pretty frequent” (p. 32). Again quite unhistorical.

⁴ Pp. 45 ff.

⁵ Thus Harnack, Loisy, etc.

⁶ Cf. Weizsäcker, A. Meyer, etc.

It will be seen, to begin with, that to gain for this visional theory any semblance of plausibility, every fact in the Gospel history has to be changed—time, place, nature of the events, mood of the disciples, etc.—while scenes, conditions, and experiences are invented of which the Gospels know nothing. It is not the facts on record that are explained, but a different (imaginary) set of facts altogether. According to the history, the first appearances took place in Jerusalem on the very day of the Resurrection. They took place independently. There was no preparedness to see visions, but, on the contrary, deep depression and rooted incredulity, not removed till Jesus, by sensible tokens, put His corporeal reality beyond doubt. The appearances were not momentary glimpses, but, at least in several of the cases, prolonged interviews. They were not excited by every trifling circumstance, nor ceaselessly multiplied. They numbered only ten altogether, five of them on the first day. The subjects of them were not nervous, hysterical persons, but men of stolid, practical judgment, fishermen, a tax-gatherer like St. Matthew, a matter-of-fact, unideal man like St. Philip, a sceptic like St. Thomas. In no case is there the slightest trace of preparatory excitement. If, when Jesus appeared, the disciples were “affrighted,” it was at the thought that a spirit appeared to them,¹ and this idea (a chance for the vision hypothesis) had to be dispelled before they would believe that it was Jesus. Ordinarily they were calm and collected. It is obvious that for the explanation of *such* appearances a vision theory is useless.

Even on its own ground, however, it must be held that the vision theory breaks down in the most essential points. It is not, for instance, the case that there is any general predisposition to believe in the resurrection of “heroes,”

¹ Luke xxiv. 37–8.

or to affirm that heroes have actually risen. No single example can be produced of belief in the resurrection of an historical personage such as Jesus was: none at least on which anything was ever founded. What is found is an unwillingness to believe, or to admit, in certain cases,¹ for a time, that the hero is really dead. The Christian Resurrection is thus a fact without historical analogy. There was, moreover, nothing in the nature of visions, assuming that the disciples had them, to give rise to the idea of a *bodily* Resurrection. "Visions" are phantasmal, and would be construed as "apparitions" of the dead, not as proofs of resurrection.² This is precisely what the Apostles at first did think about the appearances of Jesus. Lastly, as checking a purely visional theory, there is the immovable fact of the empty tomb. It would, indeed, be an extraordinary coincidence if, in the environs of Jerusalem, the tomb of Jesus was found empty, while, without previous knowledge of a Resurrection, the disciples began in Galilee to have visions of a Risen Lord!

Psychologically, no good cause has ever been shown why the disciples should have this marvellous outburst of visionary experience; should have it so early as the third day; should have it simultaneously; should have it within a strictly limited period, after which the visions as suddenly ceased; should never afterwards waver or doubt about it; should be inspired by it for the noblest work ever done on earth.³ If anything is certain historically, it is that the death of their Master plunged the disciples into deepest despondency, that their hearts,

¹ The cases are not numerous; that of Mohammed, which Renan cites, is not really one. Mohammed's death was never really doubted.

² Cf. B. Weiss, *Life of Christ*, iii. p. 390 (E. T.).

³ Koim forcibly urges against the vision-theory the orderly, regular character and early cessation of the appearances (vi. pp. 356-7). Cf. also Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, i. pp. 430-50.

always "slow to believe," were sad, and their hopes broken, and that, so far from expecting a Resurrection, they could hardly be persuaded of the fact even after it occurred. Even the words which Jesus had spoken on the subject had not been apprehended in a sense which helped them to believe. The women who visited the tomb had assuredly no expectation of finding the Lord risen. Even had their faith been stronger than it was, that would not have caused the reappearances.

Equally unaccountable on a purely visional theory is the *outcome* of belief in the Resurrection. It was this consideration which weighed most of all with Keim, whose view is thus summed up by Godet: "It would be difficult to understand how, from a society held together by over-excitement, issuing in visions, could have proceeded the Christian Church, with its lucidity of thought and earnestness of moral activity."¹ The visions not only cease, but, as Keim points out, make way for a diametrically opposite mental current. From enthusiastic excitement, the impetus of which would have gone on working, as in Montanism, for a long period, there is a sudden transition to self-possession and clear-mindedness. "If therefore," Keim argues, "there was actually an early, an immediate transition from the visions to a calm self-possession, and to a self-possessed energy, then the visions did not proceed from self-generated visionary over-excitement and fanatical agitation among the multitude."²

(3) Impressed by these difficulties, it is not surprising to find a tendency exhibiting itself among recent writers to concede the inadequacy of a purely subjective account of the appearances to the disciples, and to fall back on a theory of spiritual yet *real* manifestations of the Risen

¹ Godet, *Defence of the Christian Faith*, p. 88.

² Keim, vi. pp. 357-8. Cf. Weiss, *ut supra*, iii. p. 387.

Christ—on what is called above an *apparitional* theory. Keim is not the earliest, but he is one of the best known representatives of this theory,¹ which is now thought by certain “moderns” to receive support from the evidence collected by the Society of Psychical Research on apparitions of the dead, or phantasms of persons at the time of death.² The view is one which commends itself to prominent Ritschlians, e.g., to Johannes Weiss.³ It is put forward as probable by Professor Lake.⁴ Keim thinks that in this way he saves the truth of the Resurrection (“thus, though much has fallen away, the secure faith-fortress of the Resurrection remains”).⁵

Keim’s theory, in brief, is that, while the body of the Crucified Jesus slept on in the tomb in which it had received “honourable burial,”⁶ His spirit manifested itself by supernatural impressions on the minds of the disciples—what he calls “telegrams from heaven”⁷—giving them the assurance that He still lived, and grounding a firm hope of immortality. Keim will not even refuse to those who may require it the belief that the vision took the form of “corporeal appearances.”⁸ The newer theories rely more on the evidence of apparitions to bring the appearances of Jesus within the scope of natural law—the idea of “law” being widened to take in psychical manifestations from the unseen world.⁹ So far from belief in

¹ *Ut supra*, vi. pp. 361–5.

² Cf. Lake, *Resur. of Jesus Christ*, pp. 271–6; Myers, *Human Personality*, i. p. 288.

³ *Das Nachfolge Christi*.

⁴ *Ut supra*. ⁵ P. 365.

⁶ P. 271.

⁷ Pp. 364–5.

⁸ Pp. 362.

⁹ Cf. Prof. Lake, in agreement with Dr. Rashdall: “A real though supernatural psychological event, but which involved nothing which can properly be spoken of as a suspension of natural law” (p. 269; cf. p. 277).

immortality being based on the Resurrection, Professor Lake, in a passage earlier quoted, would seem to say that this belief (including the survival of Christ's personality) must remain an hypothesis till experts have sifted the evidence for the alleged psychical manifestations.¹

It is not necessary here to investigate the degree of truth which belongs to the class of phenomena with which psychical research deals, or to discuss the alternative explanations which may be given of such phenomena. There is no call to deny the reality of telepathic communication between living minds, or the possibility of impressions being conveyed from one mind to another in the hour of death. The whole region is obscure, and needs further exploration. What it is necessary to insist upon is that nothing of the kind answers to the proper Scriptural idea of Resurrection, and that it is a mistake, involving a real yielding up of the Christian basis, to rest the proof of Christ's rising from the dead in any degree on *data* so elusive, precarious, and in this connexion so misleading, as those to which attention is here directed. The survival of the soul is not resurrection.² An apparitional theory is not a theory of the Resurrection of Jesus as Apostolic Christianity understood it, but a substitute, which is in principle a negation, of the Apostolic affirmation.

It is speedily apparent, further, that apparitional theories of the Resurrection, quite as much as the visional, break on the character of the facts the theories are intended to explain. The empty tomb, once again, stands as an

¹ "It remains merely an hypothesis until it can be shown that personal life does endure beyond death, is neither extinguished nor suspended, and is capable of manifesting its existence to us . . . but we must wait until the experts have sufficiently sifted the argument for alternative explanations of the phenomena" (p. 245).

² Prof. Lake says: "What we mean by resurrection is not resuscitation of the material body, but the unbroken survival of personal life" (p. 265; cf. p. 275).

insuperable barrier in the way of all such theories. The testimony of the Apostles again stands on record, and cannot be spirited away. The witness of the Apostles was that they had actually seen and conversed with Jesus—not with an apparition or ghost of Jesus, but with the living Christ Himself. It is an acute criticism which the late Professor A. B. Bruce makes on Keim's "telegram" theory when he says: "It is open to the charge that it makes the faith of the disciples rest on a hallucination. Christ sends a series of telegrams from heaven to let His disciples know that all is well. But what does the telegram say in every case? Not merely, 'My Spirit lives with God and cares for you'; but, 'My body is risen from the grave. . . . If the Resurrection be an unreality, if the body that was nailed to the tree never came forth from the tomb, why send messages that were certain to produce an opposite impression?'"¹

After all, on such a theory supernaturalism is not escaped, and most will feel that Keim's spiritualistic hypothesis is a poor exchange for the Apostolic affirmation that Jesus actually burst the bands of death, and came forth living from the tomb on the morning of the third day. Dr. Bruce says of it: "Truly this is a poor foundation to build Christendom upon, a bastard supernaturalism, as objectionable to unbelievers as the true supernaturalism of the Catholic creed, and having the additional drawback that it offers to faith asking for bread a stone."² It does not help much to plead that, if apparitions can be proved in the present day, the whole subject is brought within the domain of natural law. The reality of apparitions is never likely to be proved to the general satisfaction of mankind; but, if it were, they would certainly be regarded as facts belonging to a supernatural world, and

¹ *Apologetics*, p. 393.

² *Ibid.*

not as mere phenomena of nature. The root of the whole difficulty, as Professor Lake frankly admits, is the naturalistic assumption that the reanimation of a dead body—even of the body of the Son of God—could not take place.¹ Anything, he says, rather than that.² Hence the need of resorting to the fantastic theories just described, which yet, as seen, have an element of the supernatural inhering in them.

Visional and apparitional theories being parted with, there is only one remaining explanation, viz., *that the Resurrection really took place*. As Beyschlag truly says: "The *faith* of the disciples in the Resurrection of Jesus, which no one denies, cannot have originated, and cannot be explained otherwise than through the fact of the Resurrection, through the fact in its full, objective, supernatural sense, as hitherto understood."³ So long as this is contested the Resurrection remains a problem which rival attempts at explanation only leaves in deeper darkness.

JAMES ORR.

"HAVE THE HEBREWS BEEN NOMADS?"

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR EERDMANS.

IN the EXPOSITOR for August Professor Eerdman, of Leiden, after stating that "it is generally received that the Israelitic nation is the offspring of Nomad tribes," affirms that "however common this view may be, a careful study of Genesis and of oriental life proves it to be wrong. Scholars have not paid sufficient attention to some texts in Genesis and to the differences between the various kinds of popula-

¹ *Ut supra*, pp. 264-5, 268-9.

² "Such a phenomenon is in itself so improbable that any alternative is preferable to its assertion" (p. 267).

³ *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 440.

tion in Palestine and North Arabia” (pp. 118 f.). He proceeds to describe (after Musil) the three classes into which he divides this population; *first*, “the Beduins, the proper nomads,” “travelling all the year round in a wide circuit, their ‘dira,’” wholly dependent on their herds, and without agriculture; *second*, “the people living in towns” by agriculture, trade and commerce, “afraid of the Beduins,” and despised by them; *third*, “the semi-nomadic class,” some with goats and sheep, which must drink at least every second day, “so they can only live near water and need a better soil than the Beduins do; “they cannot so easily move as the Beduins, who keep camels,” “they like to cultivate a piece of land.” Others, “called by Musil ‘Halb-Fellahin,’ are more like the townspeople”; they cultivate fields wherever they have an opportunity. They live in hamlets of tents, and if they are able to stay for several years they live in houses, which they build in the neighbourhood of wells and springs . . . they possess cattle and their flocks pasture in the desert. . . . The difference between these people and the Beduins is obvious. The Beduin’s home is where the flocks are pasturing. They carry with them all they possess, and they have only to load their camels and asses if they wish to move. The semi-nomads are people accustomed to a settled life. In the estimation of the Beduins they are not much better than the townspeople” (pp. 120 f.).

“If we examine the narratives about the patriarchs we see that they are semi-nomads (Halb-Fellahin)” (p. 121). Dr. Eerdmans proceeds to quote a number of the narratives in Genesis to show that the patriarchs “do not live in the desert, but in the valleys of Palestine”; that “they are not constantly moving, but remain for several years in the same place. They have cows and oxen; the nomads of the desert only possess camels, sheep, goats and asses;

cattle cannot be kept for want of pasture." Moreover the patriarchs cultivate land.

I.

Before dealing with Professor Eerdmans' views of the patriarchs and his criticisms of the nomadic theory of the origins of Israel, it is necessary to say something about his description of the various classes of the present population of Arabia and Palestine, and about his charge that modern scholarship has paid too little respect to the gradations of settlement between the pure nomads and the townspeople.

However grateful Old Testament scholars may be to Dr. Eerdmans for definitely raising the general question, they will receive with some surprise his implication that his paper provides the first full appreciation of the existence of semi-nomads, and his assertion that they have "not paid sufficient attention to the differences between the various kinds of population in Palestine" (p. 119). I write this far from books, and can give only a few exact references. But it is well known that in dealing with, for example, the Hivites, the Perizzites and the *Ḥawwoth Ja'îr*, archaeologists, historians and commentators alike for a long time back have indicated economic stages intermediate between the pure nomad and the inhabitants of walled towns.¹ To the students of Professor A. B. Davidson and Professor Robertson Smith the fact has been, since their student-days, a commonplace of the early history of Israel. In recent Old Testament literature, illustrations of the same have been frequent, some of them, I am sure, in writings of those scholars whom Dr. Eerdmans names; while the constant process of transition from the nomad to the peasant life,

¹ This fact, of course, is independent of the question whether some have been right in maintaining that the names Hivites and Perizzites designate elements of the population on these intermediate stages.

which is caused by the close relations of the desert to the fertile soil on the borders of Arabia and within Palestine itself, has been traced—with modern illustrations of the intermediate stages—even more clearly than by Dr. Eerdmans himself. Take, for instance, the valuable articles in the supplementary volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* on “The Races of the Old Testament,” and on “The Semites.” In the former Professor Jastrow speaks definitely (if I mistake not) of the “semi-nomadic habits” of the Hebrews; and contrasts their successful progress to a state of culture with the arrested development of some of their neighbours and with the reversion of others to lower stages of culture. In the second of those articles, Professor McCurdy affirms the long residence of the Semitic ancestors of Israel not only in the desert but on the oases of Arabia and in Babylonia, where they first practised agriculture. In his article on “The Religion of Israel” in the same volume Professor Kautzsch emphasizes the slowness of Israel's transition from a nomadic to an agricultural stage of life, and speaks of the mingling or overlapping of these stages which is illustrated in the narratives of the Book of Judges and in the laws of the so-called “Book of the Covenant,” Exodus xxi.—xxiii. Similarly Dr. Emery Barnes, in the beginning of his article “Israel” in the second volume of Hastings' *Dictionary*. Various other articles in the same work and in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* also touch, to my recollection, on those well-known facts of the economic development of the tribes of the Old Testament; while modern instances of the transition, encountered beyond Jordan, in Edom or in the desert of Judaea, have been noted by Burckhardt, Conder (especially in his *Tent-Work in Palestine*), Doughty (when he is writing of “a kind of nomad peasantry” in Edom), Libby and Hoskins on *The Jordan Valley and Petra*), and by many others in various numbers

of the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund ; and the *Zeitschrift* and the *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten* of the German Palästina-Verein. One might mention also the evidence from the age of the Crusaders furnished by the registers and cartularies of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, and the summaries of these in the works of Prütz, Rey, Röhrich and others. Nor have such materials been neglected by either the commentators of the Old Testament or the historians of Israel. As the exact citations are naturally within my memory, I may be permitted to refer to chapter i., section 1, and chapter iii., section 2, of my *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1894), and to Book ii. chapter ii. of *Jerusalem* (1907), where the stages of economic advance from the purely nomadic life of the desert, through various half-settled forms of society, to agriculture, civic institutions and an elaborate commerce are fully described, with instances both from the Old Testament, and from observations by myself and others of the habits of the present population. These references (and they could be multiplied) are enough to prove the groundlessness of Dr. Eerdmans' charge of neglect against modern scholars.

But again, Dr. Eerdmans' own description might have been at once more accurate and more full. On p. 121 (of this volume) he gives as one of the distinctions between the Bedouin (rather the Bedu) and the semi-nomads this curious remark, that "the goats and sheep must drink every day, or at least every second day ; so they [i.e., the semi-nomads] can only live near water and need a better soil than the Beduins (*sic*) do." Have, then, the latter no sheep and goats which "must drink at least every second day" ? Dr. Eerdmans answers this question himself on the very next page, where he says, "The nomads of the desert only possess camels, *sheep*, *goats* and asses." He denies to them oxen and cows ; and, on the other hand, affirms that the semi-

nomads “cannot so easily move as the Beduins who keep camels.” But on the border of the Arabian desert I have seen oxen with tribes otherwise purely nomadic; and I have frequently found camels among tribes whom Dr. Eerdmans would call semi-nomadic because they practised agriculture. The camels, of course, are not so numerous nor so fine, as with the pure nomads; but they are there. It is, therefore, inaccurate to describe the possession of camels as one of the distinctive marks of the purely nomadic stage.

The truth is that Dr. Eerdmans’ division, in spite of his differentiation of two classes among the semi-nomads, is insufficient. He gives adequate impression neither of the constant processes of transition from the purely nomadic life onwards, with its reversions or backcasts, nor of the variety and complexity of the intermediate stages. To-day hardly one of the various elements of life, the predominance of which over others distinctively marks a particular stage, is not in some degree shared by the rest of [the stages]. In other words, the distinctions among the various steps in the development are seldom absolute. They consist not so much in the complete absence of any of the distinguishing habits of life as in the varying proportions in which nearly all these habits appear upon every stage.

A complete picture of the economic developments, which take place between the desert and the fertile soil, is therefore an almost impossible achievement. But it would cover at least the following phases. We may take first those pure nomads, who either because of the weakness of their tribe or the strength of the government of the settled districts, never leave their desert homes, except for occasional robberies upon their more settled neighbours, or for fitful barter with them, giving skins, butter, reeds, firewood, alkali, and sometimes salt, for corn, pottery and cloth. Such tribes live largely by hunting, and own but few camels, sheep,

goats and asses. They are of very different grades of poverty, which are determined by the quality of the water-sources and the amount of pasture upon their respective "diras." In the wild Azâzimeh country south of the Negeb most of them possess but few clothes or other property. Some go often for months without bread. Yet even these are not absolutely unfamiliar with agriculture, but will sometimes cultivate a little barley or wheat, either on a small oasis in the desert or where war, pestilence, or drought has cleared of their owners some fields on the borders of the fertile territory. Where cereal crops are not possible they will plant vegetables, and some have a few fruit-trees on their small and secluded oases. Then there are the more powerful tribes of pure nomads¹ who invade the fertile lands periodically (when the government of these is weak enough to allow them), but without the intention or the purpose of permanently settling upon them. In early summer they drive their flocks and camels into Gilead, as in 1891 I found the Ruwala doing; or even, by the highway of the valley from Bethshan to Jezreel, upon the plain of Esdraelon, as the Midianites did in Gideon's time, and as Colonel Conder found the Şkhûr doing in the seventies of last century. They levy blackmail of the peasants, sometimes in connivance with the Imperial authorities, as I saw near Irbid in 1891 in sight of a Turkish kaimakam with a small garrison. In the seventies of last century Colonel Conder found the Şkhûr exacting blackmail from the villages on Esdraelon. They do not themselves settle to agriculture, but sometimes they take forcible possession of border-lands and have these cultivated for them by fellahin as Şkhûr do to-day (on lands in Moab formerly cultivated by the 'Adwân); contracting with peasants from even so far as Nablus, or as others do

¹ The nomads call themselves Bedu, but the peasantry call them Arabs.

farther south in Moab with peasants from Hebron.¹ The cows and bullocks, which are sometimes found with such tribes, are mostly the booty of their recent raids, and I cannot affirm from my own knowledge that they ever breed them; but the possibility of their keeping a small herd of large cattle will not be denied by those who have visited their watering-places in the pure desert. All such things they do without ceasing to be nomads pure and simple upon their own “dīra” or range of desert. Occasionally, as Colonel Conder has noticed, they arrange to protect the flocks of the fellahin on the desert pastures.² They abstain from further approaches to civilization either because of their traditions or their love of the free life of the desert, or because the government is strong enough to prevent their permanent settlement in the fertile country. But they are continually drawn to the latter by hope of spoil or by hunger. How jealously they prize their slight contacts with fertility is seen by their risings whenever these contacts are impaired or threatened by the government. Even such tribes, then, we feel to be in the beginnings of transition; and we may confidently use their still nomadic character to illustrate the earlier history of tribes now settled in Palestine, who originally came up from Arabia.

In the close neighbourhood of the desert, there are tribes of a purely desert origin, to whom the opportunity has arrived of a settled position within the borders of the arable land, either as mercenaries of the government, or as more independent proprietors and even cultivators of the soil. In the first Christian century the Beni Jafn, who were said to have migrated all the way from Yemen, were enlisted by the Romans as wardens of the Imperial frontier. In time

¹ So Musil; see above, p. 149, n. 4.

² He adds (in *Tent-Work*) that there are even lands in the desert belonging to the fellahin.

either they or others established a semi-independent régime, with castles and palaces, built in imitation of the structure of their old Bedawee tents. Nine or ten generations back the 'Adwân (according to their own report) came out of Arabia upon northern Moab, and doubtless at first lived by black-mailing the peasantry, but at last submitted to the Government, from whom they accepted a subsidy, took to agriculture, and now cultivate wheat and barley on the same fields year after year. They have built barns for their corn; and either have repaired ancient towers or constructed new ones for the protection of their goods. But they continue to live in tents. They give you not only milk and "leben," but *pottage of lentils* and *bread* with various vegetables and even vine-leaves. They have camels, and also some cattle; certain families of the Hamâydeh Arabs, the next tribe to the south, in the district of Moab called el-Jebâl, keep small herds of cows and bullocks, and in the district el-Kûra others of the same tribe have, like the 'Adwân, fine wheat fields.

The agriculture of tribes at this stage of development may be partly done for them by slaves, and sometimes they are assisted by fellahin engaged for the purpose, but one cannot say that the tribesmen (who call themselves Bedu and are recognized as Arabs by the peasantry) never themselves engage in cultivation. How families or small septs among them pass over entirely to agriculture and settlement in stone houses may be seen by the case I have reported from 'Arâk el-Emîr,¹ where a Bedawee family, after two generations of tilling the soil and tent-dwelling, with a third of tent-dwelling only in summer, are at last in the fourth generation settling down permanently in a house of stone. Herr Musil describes fellahin in Edom who cultivate vegetables, vines and olives, and build storehouses, but almost always live in tents. For an untold number of years the

¹ *Jerusalem*, i. 286.

Christians of Kerak spent the winter in their houses in that town, but every summer formed camps for agriculture and the pasturing of their flocks. Recently many of them have taken to rebuilding some of the ruined sites of Moab as their permanent residences, winter and summer alike. It is thus that in certain political conditions fresh villages are formed or deserted ones reoccupied by nomads, it may be after centuries of desolation. Their inhabitants, though more than half-fellahin, do not abandon all the habits of their nomadic ancestors, but (as I have already quoted from Colonel Conder) will drive their flocks far into the desert, and even travel considerable distances at different seasons in order to sow lands which nobody else has claimed and reap the harvests of their own toil or, for payment, also the harvests of others. Sometimes a community of half-fellahin, loosely bound as yet to their difficult soil or oppressed by their neighbours, will move *en masse*, sometimes as far as from Egypt to the borders of Palestine, to more fertile or more free soils. Pestilence, war and drought are also with them not infrequent causes of migration.

These movements from the desert inwards and along the frontiers of the fertile land are met by others from the centre of the latter. The increasing strength of the government of the country enables it to plant in those freshly settled villages a local authority with a small garrison. A government-house is erected and the village is on the way to become a town, with a street or streets and a bazaar. This has happened, within my own experience, at such places as el-Merkez in Hauran and Mâdaba in Moab; while Herr Musil tells us that Bîr es-Seba' grows from day to day; instead of tents solid houses of stone are being built, a fine street is already formed, gardens are laid out and trees planted.

By all these and many smaller and less discernible stages the pure nomads of the desert become semi-nomads and the

semi-nomads fellahin. But the forward movement is not always constant. There are arrests and even reversions. Through the fertile land and among the villages small tribes move to-day, who are tent-dwellers and pure nomads and who never have been nor apparently ever will be anything else. It was the same under the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. And the Ta'amirah Arabs in the wilderness of Judaea are said to be the descendants of fellahin who have reverted to the desert and its life in tents.

Moreover, we must take into account the possibility of what does not happen to-day but has happened more than once in the history of Palestine apart from Israel: the forcible and rapid conquest of the whole fertile territory by armed hosts coming out of Arabia. When, as in the case of the first Moslem conquest, the whole territory is seized by warriors, whose nomadic origin is indisputable, the native cultivators become their actual serfs or continue to till their lands on conditions of rent and taxation hardly distinguishable from serfdom.

The various classes of population thus described are, in spite of their fear or contempt for each other, thrown into the closest relations by the processes of commerce and blackmail, rent and subsidy which we have indicated. The covenant of blood is contracted even between tribes at different stages of the evolution; and its artificial bond may lead, under the pressure of circumstances, to a more thorough union. On the lines of the great routes across the deserts treaties are necessary between tribes commanding their principal stages, if a long commerce is to be possible and if the tribes are to make gain by it; we know how before the unification of Arabia in Islam this through-traffic had already effected among certain clans not only a political but a religious union, with Mecca as its centre. Probably Sinai was another such point of concentration. Even the usual name

for blackmail, “Khuwweh” or “Brotherhood,” indicates that at one time it implied a close social union. And we know how much *connubium* as well as commerce existed between Judah and the Canaanites.

About one other class of the nomad population it is necessary to say a few words in qualification of Professor Eerdmans’ description. Combating the theory of Stade, he denies that the Kenites were nomads (p. 128). “The word Cain means ‘smith’ and Cain is the father of the Kenites. All the workmen and tradespeople are originally dwelling in towns and oases. Some of them are travelling in order to earn their living by working for the Beduins. The Sonna and Solubba of the present time are in exactly the same condition as the Kenites” (p. 129). But the Kenites, as we shall see, are represented in the Old Testament narratives as nomads, tent-dwellers, associated with the Midianites and familiar with the desert. And similarly the families of travelling tinsmiths, whom one meets to-day on the desert-borders east of Palestine, are the most nomadic of nomads, having no connexion with the towns except for an occasional visit to their markets, and possessing no fields or oases, and extremely little movable property. The settled weapon-smiths of ancient Egypt did travel among the Bedu of the desert to sell their wares; but they were quite a different class from the nomad clans of tinsmiths and coppersmiths who are native to the desert.

II.

There are many obscurities in the early history of Israel and in their traditions of the still earlier individuals and tribes from whom the nation had descended. But all scholars agree, and have long been agreed, that part of Israel’s evolution into the agricultural economy which we find them following in Palestine consisted in the semi-nomadic stage.

Traces of this throughout the Old Testament have been frequently recognized by modern scholars (as I have shown above), and on a wider range than that on which Professor Eerdmans has exhibited it. The narratives clearly distinguish between Abraham's and still more Isaac's and Jacob's, manner of life on the one hand and that of the hunting Ishmael on the other. But how far the patriarchs had advanced through the various steps of the semi-nomadic stage, or how near they remained to the more primitive condition of pure nomads is a very difficult question. To prove his thesis that they had already achieved many steps towards a settled life, Professor Eerdmans adduces from the narratives a large amount of relevant evidence; though I would hardly count among this his emphasis on the use of the verb *yashab* of Abraham's different residences; or that of *bêth* for Isaac's dwelling; or even the statements (very few) about Abraham's possessing oxen, for, as we have seen, tribes which are in other respects pure nomads may possess these. As to the agriculture, so frequently imputed to the patriarchs, we have to ask whether they practised it as the desert *Ṣkhûr* do to-day by employing fellahin to work it for them; or as more settled tribes do by their slaves, or as still more settled tribes do by their own labours. On the other side of the question, there is the ease with which Abraham and Jacob move about over vast tracts of country, the story of Abraham's purchase of the burial place of Machpelah, Joseph's statement to Pharaoh that his family were only shepherds (Dr. Eerdmans' explanation of which, pp. 124 f., I do not feel to be satisfactory), and the fact that the Israelites during their long residence on the borders of Egypt were not at all influenced by the Egyptian civilization. Even if Dr. Eerdmans' appreciation of the evidence of the narratives were to be accepted, namely that they imply the most advanced steps of the semi-nomadic stage, the ques-

tion has still to be faced, whether these features of the narrative are not (as Professor Robertson Smith and the other scholars whom he names have maintained) reflections from the monarchical period of Israel's history, when, according to them, the traditions of the patriarchs and “The Book of the Covenant” received their literary form, whatsoever more ancient elements they may embody. This was Professor Robertson Smith's answer to the first volume of Renan's *History of the People of Israel*, and it has been given also by Wellhausen and by Kautzsch and others in the articles referred to above.

Nothing is really decided by Dr. Eerdmans' appeal to the traditions associating Abraham and Terah with *the land of the nativity* of Terah's son Haran. For Ur Kasdim lay on the borders of the fertile country at the entry of the great roads and lines of migration thither from the centre of Arabia, the first home and probably the cradle of the Semitic race. It is probable that the clan which Abraham represents were part of the second great Semitic invasion of Babylonia, which archaeologists call the Canaanite; and possible that they had never fully settled in Mesopotamia nor abandoned all the Arabian habits of life. Certainly to say, as Dr. Eerdmans does (p. 125), that Abraham's family belonged to “the townspeople” is to say what cannot be proved. No one, who is familiar with the social revolutions in Syria and Palestine caused by political and military movements, would assert that the reversion of Semitic townspeople to a semi-nomadic stage of culture was impossible. But the very infrequent reversions of even fellahin to this stage leaves the balance of probability with the theory that the family of Abraham were not townspeople but had never risen beyond, at the highest, the semi-nomadic stage. And behind this, the constant history of migrations from Arabia into the fertile territories of Babylonia and Palestine teaches

us to infer for them a previous purely nomadic stage.

In all this, however, we are moving largely in the realm of conjecture. We are only a little better off when we come to the narratives of the settlement of Palestine by the tribes of Israel after their wanderings through the wilderness. But the traditions here are clear enough to let us see that in all probability every one of the gradual processes we have seen at work to-day were experienced by some or other of the twelve clans, whether they settled in Moab and Gilead, or came into Western Palestine across Jordan, or moved up there from the Negeb. The tradition is too well established for doubt, that some of them at least succeeded to a rich and elaborate agriculture and civilization, of which they were not the gradual authors, and that the peoples they conquered became their serfs; just as happened in the case of the first Moslem conquest of Palestine. Others, no doubt, drifted in more gradually as Arabian tribes have done within the memory of the living generation; they occupied only the fields and could not take at least the stronger towns of the Canaanites till a long subsequent period of the history. They remained for centuries shepherds and agriculturists. Others did not rise beyond the shepherd and tent-dwelling stage, the desert which lies to the east of the Dead Sea giving them the opportunity of perpetuating their primitive modes of life; again just what happens in the case of some tribes to-day. But among all these classes and between them and the Canaanites there existed the same close intercourse as we have pictured among the modern inhabitants of the borders of Palestine and Arabia: trade and barter, blood-covenants, similarities of ritual, "blackmail" and other forms of the protection of the weaker by the stronger tribes; and in addition (as some of the narratives plainly show) intermarriage. It has always struck me as a proof of the unity which is imputed by the

traditions to the tribes of Israel on their exit from the desert, that the Moabites, so akin to them in blood, in language and in social position, nevertheless never entered the sacred commonwealth, but remained distinct from Israel from first to last. The story of how such a unity was broken up for a time after the invasion of western Palestine is also natural and credible to any one who is familiar with the broken character of the country and the diverse nature of its soils, all the way from desert to garden land, and who is mindful of how a nation might easily preserve its unity and its loyalty to the secret of that unity, faith in the one national God, so long as it still remained in desert territory, but as easily dissipate its faith and its unity among the many local deities and the luxurious temptations of fertile Palestine. Hence, till the Exile, and even beyond it, the persistence in Israel of the same economic differences which we have at the present day; the same struggle between the consequently varying ideals of life and duty.

But—and this is the strongest part of the case against Professor Eerdmans' theory—Israel never forgot that behind all the intermediate stages through which they passed before their establishment in the agriculture of Palestine and the development of their civic institutions, there had been a purely nomadic stage of life: without agriculture, or the finest of the wheat or oil or the grape or the wealth of cattle. It is here that we perceive the inadequacy of limiting the evidence, as Dr. Eerdmans does, to the narratives in Genesis. The memories of Israel's condition before they entered the Promised Land, which have been preserved by the poets and prophets, are of a people still without the blessings of even the half-fellahin. The Song in Deuteronomy xxxii. relates how Jahweh found Israel in the wildest, barest part of the desert.

*He found him in a land of Midbar*¹
*In the howling waste of a desert.*²
He encompassed him, he distinguished him,
He kept him as the apple of his eye.
As an eagle stirreth his nest,
Hovereth over his young,
He spread out his wings, he took him,
He bare him up on his pinions.

* * * *

He made him to ride on the heights of the land,
And to eat of the fruit of the field ;
He gave him to suck honey from the cliff,
And oil from the flint of the rock.
Curd of kine and milk of sheep ;
With lamb's fat and rams,
Breed of Bashan and he-goats,
With the fat of the kidneys of wheat,
And the blood of the grape thou drankest in foam.

This is an accurate picture of the passage from the barest forms of desert, nomad life to the richest agriculture. The prophets had the same memory, especially Hosea and Jeremiah. And they are supported by older traditions. In each of the main lines of these the recollection has been preserved of the incoming Israel's exaggerated fear of fenced cities and of the greater stature of the settled inhabitants of the land over themselves. But there are no more striking characteristics of the pure nomad of to-day. He dreads a walled town, and the race as a whole is shorter and more meagre in figure than are the fellahin. Every one who has lived among the pure nomads for even a short time is surprised on his return to the villages—is surprised even to shrinking—by the greater height and apparent strength of

¹ That is, a land not sown (Jer. ii. 2), where only pasture is possible.

² So Driver.

their inhabitants. That this testimony of the nomad origin of Israel should have, as it were so unconsciously, survived in the tradition is very striking. It is corroborated by the feeling against buildings which exists not only in so primitive a story as the Tower of Babel, but in the oracles of the desert prophet Amos ; by the description of the appearance of the Deity to Moses in a desert-bush ; by the feeling that the proper habitation of the God of Israel is a tent and the opposition to the building of a Temple ; and by the absence from early Israel of all conceptions of a future life and even of interest in it, so characteristic, as Wellhausen and Doughty have shown, of the Arabian nomads both before and after the contrary influence of Islam, and largely to be explained by the want of a permanent residence and the shifting, transitory character of the desert life. With so many independent lines of evidence on the point (and they might be multiplied) we feel we have passed out of the region of mere conjecture. If we are to put any confidence in the manifold traditions of Israel concerning their own origins, we must follow these back, behind the many semi-nomadic stages over which the nation passed, to a stage that was purely nomadic, without agriculture or settled sites. And the course of this is further illustrated past all doubt in the processes at work to-day which we have been tracing.

III.

I have hitherto avoided saying anything about Professor Eerdmans' contention, that in proving that the patriarchs were not pure nomads he has destroyed "one of the pillars in the building of the higher criticism," for I wished to argue the question of fact apart from every theory of the history of Israel's religion. But I cannot close this reply to his paper without noticing that it is strange that he should,

even if it were inadvertently, support by his language the too common fallacy that "the higher criticism" is the exclusive practice of one school of modern scholarship. "The higher criticism" is not a certain set of conclusions, a single theory of Israel's history. It is a method whose legitimacy is recognized and whose lines are followed more or less by all schools and tempers at present at work on the Old Testament. Professor Eerdmans' own paper is a learned, though, as I have shown, an incomplete example of its use. But if, as afterwards appears, Professor Eerdmans means that scholars of such differing conclusions as Wellhausen, Marti, Budde and others on the one side, and Winckler and his disciples on the other, are all equally wrong in "feeling certain of the fact that a period of nomad life preceded the conquering of Canaan by the Israelitic tribes" (p. 119), then I think it is clear that he has been able to persuade himself of the justice of his contention only by a limited use of the narratives in Genesis and of the differences between the various kinds of population in Palestine and North Arabia. A wider view and a more detailed employment of both sources leaves the nomadic theory of the origin of at least the main stocks of Israel indubitable. But he would be rash who supposed that such a theory exhausted the secrets of the creation of so composite and wonderful a people. The ethnological and literary evidence point to other elements in their constitution, yet at present leave us very much in the dark as to what these may have been.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

LEXICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.¹

IX.

ἀπόχρησις.—The verb *ἀποχρᾶσθαι* may be illustrated. *OGIS* 665¹⁶ (49 A.D.) ὑπὸ τῶν πλεονεκτικῶς καὶ ἀναιδῶς ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ἀποχρωμένων = *abutentibus*: the prefect Cn. Vergilius Capito issues an edict against the abuse of the *libera legatio*. HbP 52⁷ (245 B.C.) κ[αὶ ὧ]ντινων κλήρων ἀποκέχρηται ταῖς νομαῖς, “the holdings in which they have used up the pastures.” BU 250⁷ (135 A.D.) ὥστε ἐμφερομένους ἀποχρ(ή)σασθαι? ἢ ἀλλη(ν) ἀπόδειξιν ἐπενέγκαι.

ἀποχωρέω.—In the interesting census-return BM II. p. 51 (72/3 A.D.) reference is made to the son of a man who had acquired the Alexandrian citizenship, and ἀποκεχ^ω εἰς τ^η ιδίαν, “had returned to his own country,” who consequently was to be reckoned as Alexandrian. Cf. BM I. p. 34 (ii/B.C.) ἀπεχώρουν.

ἀπρόσκοπος.—This adj. under the form ἀπρόσκοπος ἔτη λς', a late inscription from Messana (van Herwerden, *Lex.* p. 103).

ἄπτομαι.—The sense of eagerness comes out well in the royal letter to Attis, priest of Pessinus, *OGIS* 315⁵⁶ (middle of ii/B.C.) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ἄλλαις καὶ ἄλλαις ἡμέραις αἰεὶ διασκοποῦσιν (for -οῦντων) ἥπτετο μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, “urged his view upon us.” In *Syll.* 849⁶ (Delphi, ii/B.C., in dialect) εἰ δέ τις κα ἄπτηται Σωσίχας ἐπὶ καταδουλισμῶι, it means “lay hold of, appropriate.” The active sense of “kindle,” “set fire to,” is illustrated by the magical papyrus BM I. p. 101 (iii/A.D.) ἄπτε δὲ λιβάνφ.

ἀπωθέω.—The compound *προσαπωθέω* is found in a papyrus of Magdola (221 B.C.—published in *Mél. Nic.* p. 283) *προσαπώσατό με εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν*.

¹ For abbreviations see the February and March *EXPOSITOR*, pp. 170, 262.

ἀπώλεια.—TbP 276³⁴ (an astrological fragment of ii/iii A.D.) ἐξωδιασμὸν αὐτῶν [ποιήσ]εται καὶ ἀπώλειαν, “he will spend and lose it” (his fortune) (G. and H.).

ἄρα, ἄρα.—For εἰ ἄρα, *si forte*, as in Mark xi. 13, Acts viii. 22, cf. PP II. 13 (19)⁹ = Witk. 16, a papyrus of iii/B.C., εἰ δ’ ἄρα μὴ ὁρᾷς ὃν δυνατόν. The interrogative ἄρα occurs in the curious interview with Marcus Aurelius, OP 33¹⁷.⁷ (see above), where the condemned man asks who had recalled him—ἄρα ἡ σύνκλητος ἢ σὺ ὁ λήσταρχος; “was it the senate, or you, the arch-pirate?” (G. and H.).

ἀρά.—The original meaning of “prayer,” “supplication,” is found in OGIS 383²³⁶ (i/B.C.) χωρὶς ἡμετέρας ἀρᾶς παρὰ θεῶν ἐχθρὰ πάντα, *Magn.* 105⁵³ [νόμοις γ]ὰρ ἱεροῖς καὶ ἀραῖς καὶ ἐπιτίμοις. Cf. ἀρατός in *Syll.* 303¹⁷ (ii/B.C.) ἀρατὴν ἄμα καὶ σωτήριον [περὶ τῷ]ν ἀπορουμένων ἀεὶ π[ρο]τιθέντες γνώμην.

An inscription from Akmonia in Phrygia, which Ramsay (*C. and B.* ii. 652 f.) assigns to a Jew or a Jewish Christian, has καὶ τὸ ἀρᾶς δρέπανον εἰς τὸν ὕκον αὐτοῦ [εἰσέλθοιτο].

ἀργέω.—In PP II. 4(9)⁴ (iii/B.C.) certain quarrymen complain νυνὶ δὲ ἀργοῦμεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν σώμ[α]τα ὥστε ἀνακαθᾶραι τὴν ἄμμου, “but now we are idle (‘playing’) for want of slaves to clear away the sand”: cf. 9(3)⁷, 14(1a)⁹. Later instances of the verb are afforded by BM I. p. 190 f. (farm-accounts of i/A.D.), and the illiterate OP 121 (iii/A.D.) μὴ ἀφῆς αὐτοὺς ἀργῆσε ὅλους, “do not let them be wholly idle.” So in Ptolemaic times of ships, PP II. 20 ὅπως . . . μὴ ἀργῇ τὰ πλοῖα. Add BM III. 194⁴⁵ (iii/A.D.). λόγος ἐργατῶν ἀργησάντων, 208¹⁰ (ii/A.D.) *al.* For ἀργ’ in BM I. p. 171 (78–79 A.D.) the editor conjectures ἀργίζει, or some other variant of ἀργεῖ, in the sense of “is taking holiday.” Ἀργίαι, “holidays,” is found in PP III. 40 (a)^{v.12}; and an interesting use of the corresponding adjective is afforded by BM III. p. 27 (a census-return of 160 or 161 A.D.) where, according to the “practically certain” reading, a certain

Apollonius is described as belonging to the "leisured" class of Memphis τῶν ἀπὸ Μέμφεως ἀργῶν. In PFi 1^{4.41}. and AP 97⁹ (both ii/A.D.) ἐλαιουργίου ἀργοῦ="an oil-press which is out of working order"; and in Syll. 533²³ (iii/A.D.) τὸ ἀργόν is opposed to τὸ πεφυτευμένον. In modern Greek ἀργά="late."

ἀργύρεος.—The adj. in its contracted form (as in 2 Tim. ii. 20, Rev. ix. 20) is found in BM II. p. 265 (an inventory of household furniture, ii/A.D.) φύλλα ἀργυρᾶ ὀκτώ: cf. BM I. pp. 102, 122. For the uncontracted forms, which do not seem to occur in the Ptolemaic papyri (Mayser, p. 293), see 1 Esr. vi. 18 Α τὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ τὰ ἀργύρεα (ἀργυρᾶ B), and cf. OGIS 480⁶ (Ephesus, ii/B.C.) Ἀρτεμιν ἀργυρέαν καὶ εἰκόνας ἀργυρέας δύο: cf. Helbing, *Gramm. der LXX* 34f.

ἀργυρικός,="of money," generally, is common both in the papyri and the inscriptions, e.g. AP 31⁶ (ii/B.C.) τὴν σιτικὴν μίσθωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀργυρικὴν πρόσοδον, "rents in corn and taxes in money" (G. and H.), OGIS 90²¹ (the Rosetta-stone, ii/B.C.) δαπάνας ἀργυρικός τε καὶ σιτικός μεγάλας: cf. BU 15¹³ (ii/A.D.) πράκτορα ἀργυρικῶν.

ἀργυροκόπος.—BU 781^{iv.5} (i/A.D.) ἄλλα (sc. πινάκια), ὡτία μὴ ἔχοντα, κατασκευασθέντα ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ διὰ Ἀπολλωνίου ἀργ[υρο]κόπου. PFi 71⁶⁵⁹, BM III. p. 229¹ (both iv/A.D.) and Syll. 873¹ (ἡ συνεργασία τῶν ἀργυροκόπων καὶ χρυσοχόων) also show it.

ἀρεσκεία.—For the bad sense which prevails in classical writers (see Lightfoot on Col. i. 10) a new literary citation may be made from Philodemus (i/B.C.) Περὶ Κολακείας (in *Rhein. Mus.* lvi. 623) ἄνευ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρεσκείας. But OP 729²⁴ (137 A.D.) is a close parallel for Paul's use: ποι[ή]σονται τοὺς ποτισμοὺς τοῦ [κτῆ]ματος καὶ τῆς καλαμ[είας] πεμπταίους πρὸς ἀρεσκί[αν] τοῦ Σαραπίωνος, "they shall irrigate the vine-land and the reed-land every fifth day to the satisfaction of Sarapion" (G. and H.). (We spell -εία on historical

grounds, regarding the MSS. as inadequate witnesses for ϵ and ι : see *Proleg.* 47.)

ἀρέσκω.—For the idea of *service* associated with the verb in late Greek see *Thess.* p. 19. Add a more general sense illustrated by BM III. p. 133²⁸ (139 A.D.) τὰ ἐαυτῷ ἀρέσκοντα: the context is mutilated.

ἀρεστός.—HbP 51⁴ (iii/B.C.) πριάμενος λάμβανε ἀρεστάς τιμῶν τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων, “accept, if satisfactory, and buy at the prices below written” (G. and H.). GH 24 (105 B.C.) παρεχέσθω (sc. τὸν οἶνον) μόνιμον καὶ ἀρεστὸν ἕως Ἀθὺρ α̅, “wine that will keep and be satisfactory till Athyr 30.” AP 48⁸ (106 B.C.) χορηγοῦντες κενώματα ἀρεστά, “providing acceptable vessels” (G. and H.). Cf. *Syll.* 522¹⁷ (iii/B.C.) οἶνο[υ] παρέχειν ἀρεστόν, and for the adverb *Michel* 456^{15 ff.} (ii/B.C.) συντετελεσμένα πάντα τὰ ἔργα ἀρεστῶς. The collocation of Rom. xiv. 18 is suggested in AP 89⁸ (121 A.D.) τὸ (l. τὸν) δὲ ἀργυρικὸν φόρον δόκιμον ἄριστον (l. ἀρεστόν), if the editors’ certain emendation be accepted. So PFi 1⁶ (ii/A.D.) ἀργύριον δόκιμον νομιτευόμενον ἀρεστόν: BM III. p. 150⁶ (iii/A.D.). TbP 342¹⁷ (ii/A.D.) λίθοις ἀρεστοῖς ἐξηρτισμένον—add ^{22, 25}.

ἀρετή.—To Deissmann’s citations (*BS* 95f.) may be added a literary one from Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 53 τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιοι: see also Hort, 1 *Pet.* p. 129. The word occurs in HbP 15^{83 ff.} (a rhetorical exercise, iii/B.C.) where the younger men are exhorted to employ their bodies εὐκαίρως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν ποιησαμένους τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς, “in a timely display of their prowess” (G. and H.). For land ἐν ἀρετῇ see TbP 51^{82 ff.} (ii/B.C.) where certain officials are warned not τὴν ἐν ἀρετῇ κειμένην βα(σιλικήν) γῆν παραιρεῖσθαι τῶν γεω(ργῶν) μηδὲ ἐπὶ ἐγλογῇ γεωργεῖν, “to take the richest Crown land from the cultivators by fraud or cultivate it at choice” (G. and H.). In the later papyri the word is found as a title of courtesy, e.g. OP 60^{4 ff.} (iv/A.D.) ἀκολούθως τοῖς κελευσθῶσι ὑπὸ τῆς

ἀρετῆς τοῦ κυρίου μου διασημοτάτου ἡγεμόνος Σαβινιανοῦ, *ibid.* 71^{ii.18} (iv/A.D.)] εἶ σου δόξειεν τῇ ἀρετῇ: cf. BM III. p. 129⁷ (iii/iv A.D.), Lp P 40 II²⁰, III^{9,18} (iv/v A.D.). On *Syll.* 784, Ἀθηνάαι Μένεια ἀέθηκεν ὄψιν ἰδοῦσα ἀρετὴν τῆς θεοῦ, Dittenberger quotes with approval Foucart's definition of ἀρετή as signifying "vim divinam quae mirabilem in modum hominibus laborantibus salutem afferret." Cf. 807⁵ (ii/A.D.), where after a miraculous restoration of a blind man the people rejoice ὅτι ζῶσαι ἀρεταὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀντωνείνου. There is suggestive force in this rejoicing of the pagan crowd to find that the "powers" of Asclepius were still "alive" in those dark days. So 806¹⁰ (Crete, early Empire) πλείονας ἀρετὰς τοῦ θεοῦ].

ἀρήν.—Of the nominative of this word (*Φαρήν*, declined according to the primitive model still normal in Sanskrit, and traced in κύων κυνός, *caro carnis*) we have no occurrences except in early times: see Searles, *Lexicographical Study* (Chicago Univ., 1898), p. 21. The oblique cases, though only once appearing in the N.T., are by no means obsolete in the Κοινή: thus ἀρνός TbP 117³⁵ (i/B.C.) and even BM I. p. 123 (magical—v/A.D.); ἄρνες HbP 32¹¹ (iii/B.C.); ἀρν(άσι) AP 73⁵ (ii/A.D.); ἄρνας BU 133⁸ (ii/A.D.). In MP 21² (iii/B.C., cited by Mayser, p. 287) we find ἀρνοῖς, perhaps a contribution of the NW Greek to the Κοινή: see *Proleg.* 36.

ἀριθμέω.—BU 620⁶ (iii/A.D.). Ἀρίθμησις is common in such a phrase as εἰς ἀρίθμησιν μηνός, e.g. BU 25⁶, 41⁶ (both ii/A.D.). According to Wilcken (*Ostr.* i. p. 351) τὸ ἀριθμητικόν denotes an impost for the maintenance of the ἀριθμηταί, but G. and H. (TbP II. p. 197) regard it rather as a tax on land: cf. BU 236⁹, 330⁷ (both ii/A.D.).

ἀριθμός.—PP II. 16 (iii/B.C., =Witk. 10) ἡκούσ]αμεν ἀριθμὸν ἔσεσθαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀρσινοείων. OP 742⁸ (2 B.C.) παράδος . . . ἀριθμῶι αὐτάς (sc. δέσμας), "accurately counted" (Wilcken *ap.* Witk. 94). OGIS 266⁶ (iii/B.C.) ὑπὲρ τῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν

ἀποδόντων τὸν κύριον, “as regards those who had completed the fixed number of years.” It may be worth while to call attention to Wessely’s paper on Gnostic numbers in the *Mittheilungen* of the Rainer collection, I. i. 113 ff.: thus 99 is the ἀριθμός of ἀμὴν ($\bar{a} + \bar{\mu} + \bar{\eta} + \bar{\nu} = 99$), and the mystic Ἀβρασάξ is the number of the year, since the sum of $1 + 2 + 100 + 1 + 200 + 1 + 60 = 365$.

ἀριστερός.—For the phrase ἐξ ἀριστερῶν (as in Luke xxiii. 33) cf. BU 86²⁷ (ii/A.D.), NP 43⁴ (iii/A.D.).

ἀρκετός.—BU 531^{ii.24} (ii/A.D.) seems to have the adverb in its mutilated conclusion, ἐὰν δ[ἐ . . .] ἀρκετὸς [ἐ]χῃ[. . .]

ἀρκέω.—BM I. p. 36 (ii/B.C.) οὐκ ἀρκεσθέντες ἐφ’ οἷς ἦσαν διαπεπραγμένοι. AP 77¹⁹ (ii/A.D.) μὴ ἀρκεσθ[ε]ῖς. OP 114¹⁴ (ii/iii A.D.) ἐὰν οὖν μὴ ἀρκεσθῇ τὸ κέρμα, “if the cash is not sufficient.” BM III. p. 212¹³ (ii/iii A.D.) λαβὼν κοτύλας τόσας φακῶν ἵνα ἀρκέσ[η] ἡμῖν, an impersonal use.

ἄρκτος.—Ἄρκος for ἄρκτος, as in Rev. xiii. 2 (cf. 1 Regn. xvii. 34), is found in the later inscriptions, e.g. IGSI 1302 (time of Hadrian). The still more contracted ἄρξ occurs in the Silko inscription OGIS 201¹⁷ (vi/A.D.), where see Dittenberger’s note. Modern Greek ἀρκούδα.

ἄρμα.—PP II. 25(a)⁶ εἰς ἄρματα τὰ ἀκολοθοῦντα αὐτῶι. OGIS 533¹⁶ (i/B.C.) ἀρμάτων καὶ κελ[ή](τ)ων, Magn. 127⁴ (i/B.C.) ἄρματι τελείωι.

ἀρμόζω.—We have found no direct parallel in the Κοινή for the middle in 2 Cor. xi. 2, on which see *Proleg.* 160; but the use of μνηστεύεσθαι in PFi 36⁴ (iv/A.D. *init.*), of a mother making a match for her son with a cousin, is essentially on the same lines. In Cos at the present day, as Dr. Rouse tells us, ἀρμοστός -ή is the name of a betrothed pair. Cf. also the Ep. of Aristeeas § 250 (Wendland, = Thackeray, p. 562¹²) πῶς <ἀν> ἀρμόσαι γυναικί. In the active the verb is common=“to be suitable, fitting.” Thus BM II. p. 97 (11/15 A.D.) καὶ τοῖς ἀρμόζουσιν [κατὰ

καιρὸν σπέρ]μασι. *OGIS* 383⁹⁸ (i/B.C.) ὡς ἤρμοζεν ἕκαστος. *ib.* 335¹⁵⁹ (ii/i B.C.) τοὺς ἀρ]μόζοντας λό[γους. . . . BU 93¹⁶ (ii/iii A.D.). Lp P38^{ii.3f.} (iv/A.D.). The prominence of the present participle reminds us of our own *fitting*: it has its adverb ἄρμοζόντως, as in Par P 63^{iii.77} (ii/B.C.) τοῖς καιροῖς πρεπόντως καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἅ., *Syll.* 258¹⁰ (iii/B.C.) ἅ. τοῖς ἐν τοῖς (l. τοῖ) ψαφίσματι γεγραμμένοις.

ἀρμός.—*Syll.* 538⁹ (? 353 B.C.) συντιθέντα τοὺς ἀρμούς σπερίφους, ἀρμόττοντας πανταχῇ, of the walls of a temple. 540¹⁰⁶ (175–1 B.C.) τοῦ προσιόντος ἀρμού: see Dittenberger's note.

ἀρνέομαι.—*OGIS* 484³¹ (ii/A.D.) ἅπερ ἀρνούμενων αὐτῶν ἠδέως ἐπίστευον. For the aor. midd. (rare in Attic) cf. BU 195²² (ii/A.D.) ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ μὴ ἀρνήσασθαι ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ τούτου . . . PFi 61^{ii.49} (i/A.D.) ἠρνήσατο οὗτος [τῇ]ν κληρονομίαν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν τοῦ ἰδίου πατρός.

ἀρνίον.—NP 68⁷ (iv/A.D.) ἀρνία ἑνδεκα. StrP 24⁷ (118 A.D.).

ἄροτρον.—Rein P 17²⁰ (ii/A.D.) ἄροτρον α ζυγὸν α (or ἄροτρον ἄζυγον α). StrP 32³ (iii/A.D.) Ἀροτήρ (contracted ἀρ^ο) is found in BM II. p. 26 (94 A.D.); cf. *OGIS* 519²¹ (iii/A.D.) τοὺς ἀροτήρας βόας, where Dittenberger refers to Hesiod *Op. et Dies* 405 βοῦν ἀροτήρα. Ἀροτριάω occurs in PP III. 31.⁷ It is sometimes replaced by ὑποσχίζω: see Kenyon's note, BM III. p. 200.

ἀρπαγή.—*Syll.* 928⁸⁵ (Magnesia, ii/B.C. *init.*) ἡ τῶν κτηνῶν ἅ. γεγενημένη. LpP 64⁵³ (iv/A.D.) δι' ἀρπαγῆς. Towards the discussion of the word ἀρπαγμός we might cite the relation of σέβασμα and σεβασμός. The former=object of reverence, as Acts xvii. 23, 2 Thess. ii. 4 (see *Thess.* 99). For the latter see *Syll.* 656³⁶ (ii/A.D.) καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μέγιστον τοῦ περὶ αὐτὴν (sc. Artemis) σε[βασ]μοῦ ἐστὶν τεκμήριον, that we (Ephesians) have a month Artemision called after her. Σεβασμός here as elsewhere (see LS)="reverence," abstract,

while σέβασμα is concrete. The bearing of this (if any) on the force of ἀρπαγμός we must not stay to discuss.

ἀρπάζω.—BM II. p. 166 (14–15 A.D.) [ἀ]ρπάσαι τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα. *OGIS* 665¹⁸ (i/A.D.) ὅτι ἀναλίσκεται τινα ἀρπαζόντων ἀδεῶς τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς χρεαίαις. BU 341³ (ii/A.D.) [κωστο]δίας ἤρπασαν. In l. 12 of this last papyrus ἤρπάγησαν is the true reading: see p. 359. According to Wilcken (*Archiv* i. p. 164) the verb is to be understood causatively in BM II. p. 284 (iv/A.D.) ἤρπαξας αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν ἀνομίᾳ, “du hast sie plündern lassen.” On this general tendency cf. Hatzidakis, p. 200 f. For ἀρπάζω used of death see the epitaph in *BCH* xviii. p. 370, no. 101, ὑπὸ σκορπίου ἤρπασθη (cited *Mél. Nic.* 244). The compound ἀφαρπάζω is found OP 37^{1.17} (49 A.D.) τὸ σωμάτιον ἀφῆρπασεν, “carried the foundling off.” For the double conjugation of this and similar verbs—due to the fact that both dental and guttural before -yw will make -ζω—see *Proleg.* 56.

ἀρραβών.—A word of undoubted Semitic origin (Heb. אֶרֶבָּוֹן), spelt ἀρραβών and ἀραβών: see *CR* xv. 33, and cf. BM II. pp. 211, 212 (ii/A.D.), where both forms occur. The meaning of “earnest-money” (*Scotticé* “arles”) is well illustrated by Par P 58¹⁴ (ii/B.C., =Witk. 57), where a woman who was selling a cow received 1,000 drachmas as ἀραβῶνα. Similarly BM II. p. 204 (97 A.D.), a receipt for 160 drachmas, being the residue of the earnest-money (200 drachmas) for $2\frac{1}{2}$ arourae of land, ἀπὸ λόγου ἀρραβώνος κλήρου κ.τ.λ. Additional examples in *Ostr.* 1168; MP 26⁸ (Wilcken); BM II. p. 298 (iv/A.D.), III. p. 143¹⁶ (ii/A.D.), and p. 196¹²² (iii/A.D.); BU 240⁶ (ii/A.D.), 601¹¹ (*id.*); OP 299² (late i/A.D.). In modern Greek ἡ ἀρραβωνι(α)σμένη=“the betrothed bride,” “an interesting reminiscence,” as Abbott (*Songs*, p. 258) remarks, “of the ancient custom of *purchasing* a wife.” In the same way ἡ ἀρραβῶνα is used for “the engagement-ring.” In the island of Cyprus we find the form ἀραῶνα (*Thumb Hellen.* p. 23).

ἄρρωστος.—*Syll.* 858¹⁷ (ii/B.C., Delphi, in dialect) ἀτελής ἃ ὠνὰ ἔστω, εἰ μὴ ἄρρωστος γένοιτο Σώσος. We have come across no instance of the adj. in the papyri, but both verb and subst. are common. For the former see HbP 73¹⁵ (iii/B.C.) εἰ οὖν μὴ ἡρρωσθήσαμεν, PP I. 30(1)⁴ (iii/B.C., = Witk. 4) τὸν [ὄν[τ]α ἐν Μέμφει ἄρρωστοῦντα, Par P 49³¹ (ii/B.C., = Witk. 47) μὴ ποτε ἀρ[ρ]ωστεῖ τὸ παιδάριον. For the latter see AP 35^{31 ff.} (ii/B.C.) ἐπεὶ οὖν σέσωσαι ἐν τῇ ἄρρωστίαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Σοκνοπαίτος θεοῦ μεγάλου, TbP 44^{8 f.} (ii/B.C.) χάριν τῆς περιεχούσης με ἄρρωστίας, “one account of the sickness from which I am suffering” (G. and H.), TbP 52^{10 f.} (ii/B.C.) ἐν βαρυτέρα (see *Proleg.* 78) ἄρρωστία κίσθαι.

ἄρσην.—The form *ἄρσην*, which WH read throughout, is illustrated by OP 744⁹ (1 B.C.) where with reference to the birth of a child it is directed ἐὰν ᾦν (i.e. ᾦ) ἄρσενον ἄφες, ἐὰν ᾦν θήλεα ἔκβαλε: cf. also NP 35⁶ (ii/A.D.) ἄρσενας. For *ἄρρην* see BU 88⁶ (ii/A.D.) κάμηλ(ον) ἄρρενον [λ]ευκόν, BM I. p. 68 (iv/A.D.) θῆλυ καὶ ἄρρεν, StrP 30¹³ (iii/A.D.). *Ostr.* 1601 gives us a derivative, παιδίου ἀρσενικοῦ. There is an important investigation into the rationale of the variation between ρσ and ρρ in the *Κοινή* in Wackernagel's pamphlet *Hellenistica*, pp. 12 ff.

ἄρτι.—To the examples of *ἄρτι* denoting strictly *present* time in *Thess.* 40 add the magical formula BM I. p. 96³⁷³ (iii/A.D.) ἐν [τ]ῇ ἄρτι ὥρα ἥδη ἥδη ταχὺ ταχύ, *ibid.* p. 101⁵⁴⁶ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρα. Also BM III. p. 213¹⁰ (iii/A.D.) δικάζομαι χάριν τῶν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου καὶ οὐ δύναμαι ἄρτι ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σέ.

ἄρτιος.—For *ἄρτιος*=τέλειος see Kaibel *Epigr.* 222b (Praef.) ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ὀγδοήκοντ' ἀρτίων.

ἀρτύω.—TbP 375²⁷ (140 A.D.) ζύμης ἡρτυμένης. Ἀρτύματα, “spices,” are mentioned amongst the items in an account AP 126⁴⁰ (early ii/ A.D.).

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

OPERA FORIS.

MATERIALS FOR THE PREACHER.

VIII.

NAHUM iii. 8 : *Art thou better than populous No ?*

The prophet warns Nineveh that she cannot expect any happier fate than that of No, the Thebes of Upper Egypt, which Assurbanipal had sacked less than fifty years before. For all her apparently impregnable position, in spite of her resources and prestige, *she was carried away, she went into captivity* ; her magnificent treasures were spoiled, and her splendid traditions went for nothing. How can Nineveh, with this recent warning and example before her eyes, expect to fare better ?

The point of the prophet's oracle is the blind confidence which makes people indifferent to their interests because they secretly believe that they will get off, somehow, with impunity where others have had to suffer. They refuse to do anything or to profit by the example of their neighbours for the simple reason that they imagine they will not be so hardly dealt with. An exception surely will be made in their case. Hence there is a refusal on their part to face frankly the evidence of history. " We lean upon the thought that chance will bear us through," or that there will be some relaxation of the laws of Providence in our favour, oblivious of the plain lessons written upon the pages of recent and contemporary history, that carelessness and pride and callousness bring ruin impartially upon life.

The story of Chalcedon and Byzantium illustrates this truth. When the founders of the latter city asked the oracle of the Pythian Apollo where they should build their city, they were told to chose a site " opposite to the site of the blind " ; i.e. upon that side of the strait opposite to

Chalcedon (Tacitus, *Annal.* xii. 63). The latter city was founded by people who wilfully chose the less suitable site, blind to the natural advantages of the other coast. The Byzantine settlers were to take warning by the patent example of folly furnished them by the citizens of Chalcedon. They did so, and, by their willingness to profit by the fate of their neighbours, succeeded in gaining and maintaining a secure site for their city. Chalcedon stupidly missed her chance. Byzantium was wise enough to recognize her neighbour's error and so to take steps for her own prosperity.

* * * * *

Luke xi. 5-6 : *Friend, lend me three loaves ; for a friend of mine is come to me from a journey, and I have nothing to set before him.*

A sermon on the motives for prayer : social life and responsibility an incentive to devotion. Human life lies open on the one side to heavy demands made upon its resources. *A friend is come to me . . . and I have nothing to set before him.* These responsibilities and relationships of our life drive us to seek help from God, who is no grudging or reluctant *friend*, as in the parable, but ready to supply us with the wisdom and courage and patience which we need for any practical emergency. It is our sense of personal helplessness, in view of the need of others, which often acts as a stimulus to prayer.¹ The claims made on our affection by contact with other people will sometimes sharpen our sense of dependence upon God and urge us to have recourse to Him for reinforcement. The parable thus indicates the earthly demands and the heavenly resources of the Christian life. One real aid to the practice of prayer is sensitiveness to the claims, spoken and unspoken,

¹ Then I stop

And feel I can do naught towards helping men,
Till out it comes, like tears that will not hold,
And I must pray again for all the world (George Eliot).

which other people make upon ourselves. The friend in need of us makes us realize, as perhaps we should not otherwise have done, our own need of the higher Friend, and any sense of others who may be looking to our example or relying upon our personal character produces, in the truly Christian man, a strong incentive to the practice of communion. The realization of his duty to others quickens his devotion to God. As Jesus suggests in this parable, the feeling that the weakness of others is leaning, and has a right to lean, upon our strength, appealing confidently to our resources, will often prove a stimulus to our own intercourse with the God who willingly supplies our every need. A man ought to be the better as a Christian because he is a parent, a minister, or a worker in the church.

* * * * *

Luke xi. 33-36.

Despite Wellhausen's judgment that the connexion is "*ganz unklar*," the collected lamp-sayings of this section may be read together in the light of the preceding discourse upon the person of Jesus as His only sign. Our Lord has argued that nothing can prove Him except Himself. *A greater than Solomon or Jonah is here*; the wisdom and the moving power of His own life are their best evidence, and no external sign need be expected. Hence the line of the subsequent sayings, which Luke has inserted at this point. Their psychological continuity is as follows.

(a) God has not made His Messiah to appear in any obscure or eccentric or out-of-the-way form. *No man, when he hath lighted a lamp, putteth it in a cellar, neither under the bushel, but on the stand, that they which enter in may see the light* (ver. 33). Here Jesus is the lamp, set by God in the open sight of the world. His revelation is not esoteric or subtle, requiring some special sign to render it visible. God has acted reasonably in the mission of the Son. Solo-

mon's wisdom was not a secret ; Jonah preached in public. How much more this *greater* than either ! The person and truth of Jesus are conspicuous enough for any one who has eyes to see. Why then do so many miss Him or misunderstand Him ? The reason must lie not in Him, but in themselves, in their prejudices and moral obliquities of vision. Consequently (*b*) the metaphor of the lamp is now shifted from Jesus to human nature, as B. Weiss points out in his recent volume on *Die Quellen des Lukas-evangeliums* (1907, pp. 76 f.). The sole explanation of this untoward blindness in men to the clear revelation of Jesus must be sought in some inward twist or defect in *those who enter in* ; if they do not *see the light*, it is not because the light is concealed but because the normal organ of knowledge and spiritual perception must have become deranged.

The lamp of thy body is thine eye ;

When thine eye is single (ἀπλοῦς, sound, unimpaired),

Thy whole body is also full of light ;

But when it is evil,

Thy body also is full of darkness.

Look, therefore, whether the light that is in thee (i.e., the soul, as the eye of life) *be not darkness.*

Instead of looking around for signs or external proofs in order to understand the mystery of Jesus, the crowd are bidden look within, and the admonition is clinched with the final word ¹ (ver. 36) : *if therefore thy whole body be full of light, having no part dark, it shall be wholly full of light, as when the lamp with its bright shining doth give thee light.* God's light is clear enough. But what about your light ?

¹ Ver. 36, omitted by D and other MSS., has a tautological ring, and might be left out as a gloss (so Blass, Wellhausen) without affecting the general sense of the passage. Jülicher transfers it, in its Syr-Sin. form, to a place between 34*a* and 34*b*.

His lamp is in its right place and in good order. But what about your organ of vision, that lamp of the soul which gets easily out of order, and thus is prevented from receiving the rays of the divine revelation ?

* * * * *

John xiii. 16 : *A servant is not greater than his lord.*

The setting of the saying here determines its application. Spoken after the incident of the feet-washing at the last supper, these words form a warning for the servant or disciple not to give himself airs. If Jesus the Lord lays aside all pride and superiority in ministering to His people, the disciple must not consider himself above the same duty of helpful and humble service. He dare not stand on his dignity.

This saying on the common lot of master and servant was a favourite word of Jesus, however, and recurs in other passages. Thus it is once applied in Luke vi. 40-42, not to the duties of the disciple, but to the responsibilities of the teacher. Here Jesus is thinking of the fact that pupils depend upon the thoroughness of their teachers. The learner profits in proportion to the skill of his instructor.

Can the blind guide the blind ?

Shall they not both fall into a pit ?

The disciple is not above his master :

But every one when he is perfected (cf. 1 Cor. i. 10) shall be as his master.

Consequently, before one essays to teach or lead others he must pay scrupulous attention to his own character and capacities, lest the imitateness of the pupils makes them copy his faults to their own and to his undoing. The saying is thus a warning, in this connexion, to the superficial and uninstructed teacher. His training determines the level reached by his pupils.

A third application of the proverb or maxim occurs in John xv. 20 (=Matt. x. 24) :—

*A servant is not greater than his lord.
If they have persecuted me,
They will also persecute you.*

Here, the servant or disciple is told to expect no better treatment than that accorded to his leader. Just as he must not consider himself exempt from duties inside the church, to which his Lord stooped, so he must be prepared to face hardships in the outside world similar to those borne by Jesus. Christians have no right to think themselves above involuntary persecution, any more than above voluntary self-sacrifice.

The significance attached to the saying is brought out by the prefatory remark of Jesus in the last quotation—*Remember the word that I said unto you.*

* * * * *

1 Pet. v. 12: *Silvanus, our faithful brother, as I account him.*

This is Peter's mature judgment on the character of his friend; it is no hasty certificate, signed in a moment of good-nature. He had learned, from his own experience, how responsible a thing it is to permit ourselves to drift into friendships or associations with other people promiscuously. Hence these deliberate words may serve as text for a sermon upon our responsibility for the influence exerted by others upon us, as well as for the ties of friendship which we form, and which quicken us into an activity for better or for worse.

(a) Peter knew how disastrous it was to let any sudden or strong influence determine one's actions. For the sake of personal safety he had allowed the maid-servant in the hall of judgment to control or at least affect his actions and utterances for the moment. For the sake of peace he had permitted the Jewish Christians at Antioch to divert him from the path of principle. (b) On the other hand he

had profited by the friendship of his brother Andrew (John i. 41), and by association with John and Paul, so that both the lapses and achievements of his life had been largely due to the influence of other people upon his character.

His personal history had thus made him careful and prudent by this time about human influence. Any impulsive, warm-hearted nature like his is too apt to admit the sway of other people from time to time without sufficient reflection, and this receptiveness may turn out fatally as well as happily. "The friends thou hast, *and their adoption tried*" are the only ones who are, like Silvanus, to be held fast to the soul with hooks of steel. They must be judged trustworthy, and that judgment cannot rest upon the impression of the moment.

JAMES MOFFATT.

NOTE.

IN answer to the query on p. 21 of the July number, Mrs. Margaret D. Gibson kindly writes to say that in the Semitic languages the present participle may stand by itself, without an auxiliary verb, to denote either the past, present, or future, it being left to the reader to give his own interpretation in each case. In the Palestinian codices edited by herself and her sister, Mrs. Lewis, as well as in a palimpsest of the sixth century, belonging to the latter, the literal rendering of the Aramaic answering to συλλήμψῃ is "thou [art] conceiving," but it is the same with the undoubtedly future τέξῃ in the same verse; and in Acts xxv. 22, "To-morrow thou [shalt be] hearing him"; and Mrs. Gibson tells me that Dr. Nestle, whom she consulted on the point, considers that the present participle, when preceded by the equivalent to ἰδού, always denotes the future. She is, however, herself still unconvinced, thinking that we know too little of the Palestinian Syriac to lay down strict rules.

J. B. MAYOR.

*THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE.*¹

I WILL not fill up the last minutes of the Congress with minute details of the subject about which I have to speak. Rather, I shall attempt to show it amid its surroundings as one aspect of the immemorial struggle between the East and the West. In the electric contact between Asia and Europe has been generated the greatest motive power throughout history; the impulse is constantly varying in character from age to age, yet the principle is fundamentally the same.

In the lands of the Aegean and the Levant the cardinal fact of history has always been and is now the struggle of Hellenism to make itself dominant. On the coasts and islands it rules almost by right of nature; and it is constantly striving to force its way inland. As a motive force in the Levant world it gained strength and direction by being moulded into the Roman organization; and the Roman Empire was in the East the Hellenic Empire, an invigorated Hellenism, which lost the charm, the delicacy, the purity and the aloofness of the unalloyed Greek spirit, but gained practical and penetrating power.

In one of his most remarkable papers, written in later life, when his genius and historic insight were brightest and most piercing, because they were guided by longer experience and by a width of knowledge almost beyond the right of mankind, Mommsen has described how the Roman Empire, at the moment when it seemed no longer

¹ Address delivered on behalf of Section VI (Church History) to the final general meeting of the entire Congress of Historical Sciences, Berlin, August 12, 1908.

capable of maintaining itself, was restored to vigour by the incorporation of a new idea into its constitution, and became the Christian Empire. This was only one out of many cases in which by a single article Mommsen either permanently changed thought regarding an old branch of study or created a new branch of study. He has made it impossible for any scholar ever again to say much of what used to be repeated parrot-like by generation after generation of scholars about the relation of the Church to the Roman State,¹ and he has made it urgently necessary that the history of the Roman Empire should be rewritten from a new point of view.

The new Christian Empire lasted as a power patent to the eyes of all the world for more than eleven hundred years. What was the idea, what the new factor in organization that recreated and rejuvenated the dying Roman Empire? It was the Church, the Church as an organized unity, the Church as a belief, and the Church as a body of ritual.

In this connexion we are struck with a certain difference between the Latin Church and the Greek. The Latin Church has often been able to maintain its hold on discordant nations: many peoples have remained faithful to the belief and the authority of the Roman Church, while preserving their independence, their separation, and their mutual hostility. But the Latin Church could not hold together the Western Empire. It never identified itself with the Empire. It represented a higher unity than the Roman Empire: so far as it lowered itself to stand on the same level as the Empire, it was a rival and an enemy rather than an ally of the Empire.

¹ *Der Religionsfrevel nach röm. Recht.* The legal aspect is restated in his *Strafrecht* from a different point of view, and in some details perhaps more correctly; but the older paper takes a far wider outlook and a more illuminative view than the legal book, which though published later stands nearer the ordinary point of survey.

But the Orthodox Church in the East cast in its lot with the Roman Empire ; it was conterminous with, and never permanently wider than the Empire. It did not long attempt to stand on a higher level than the State and the people. It has not been an educating and elevating and purifying power. It has been content, on the whole, in spite of some notable and honourable exceptions, to accept the world as it was ; and it has been too easily satisfied with mere allegiance and apparent loyalty to the State among all its adherents. It was the faithful ally of the Emperors. In the controversies of the fifth century it elected to side with the uneducated masses against the higher thought ; and in an Œcumenical Council, at which the law of the whole Christian world should be determined, it admitted to its deliberations a Bishop who could not sign his name because he did not know letters. But on this lower level it stood closer to the mass of the people. It lived among them. It moved them with more penetrating power than a loftier religion could have done. Accordingly the Orthodox Church was fitted to be the soul and life of the Empire, to maintain the Imperial unity, to give form and direction to every manifestation of national vigour.

Practically the whole of Byzantine art that has lived is ecclesiastical, being concerned with the building and the adornment of churches, and of the residences of officials in Church and State. The subjects of its painting became more and more exclusively sacred. Art itself was frowned upon ; and the controversy between Iconodouloi and Iconoclastai was to a certain extent a contest as to whether Art should not be expelled even from churches. Of Byzantine literature, if you take away what is directly or indirectly concerned with or originating out of the Church, how little remains ! To letters the Orthodox Greek Church

has never been very favourable. It has never played the part in preserving the ancient classical literature that the Latin Church has played.

Yet it has always clung to the Hellenic language as tenaciously as it has allied itself with the Hellenized Empire, to which it had given new life ; but it did so rather on political and social and religious grounds than from literary sympathy. Greek was necessarily the language of Hellenic civilization and order ; and it was the language of the sacred books. Accordingly the Church destroyed the native languages of Asia Minor, and imposed the Greek speech on the entire population, though it could not completely do this in Syria or in Egypt. As it identified itself with the Imperial rule in the State, so it identified itself with Hellenism as a force in society ; but its Hellenism was a degenerate representative of the old classical Hellenism, hardened and narrowed in its interests, but intense, powerful, strongly alive, resolute to make the single language, the Hellenic speech, dominant throughout the Church, yet able in the last resort to abandon for the moment, under the pressure of necessity or of overpowering national feeling, even the Hellenic speech, and to leave only the cultus and the hierarchy and the ritual of the One true Church as the sole living unity in the Empire.

The rise of every national movement that sought to develop itself within the Empire was consecrated and vitalized by the formation of a new Church. In some cases, as in the Armenian schism, or in the severance between the two great sections of the original Catholic and Imperial Church, viz., the Latin and the Greek, there was some difference of dogma, of creed, or of ritual. But these differences were, in the historian's view, not the essential features in the dissensions that ensued between the opposing sections of the Church. Those differences of

creed were only the insignia emblazoned on the standards of forces which were already arrayed against one another by national and other deep-lying causes of hostility. Accordingly in the severance between Slavic and Hellenic nationalities, in the bitter hatred that has often raged between Slav and Hellene, there is practically no difference of creed or ritual ; there is only a difference of ecclesiastical organization. The separate nationality formed for itself a separate ecclesiastical system, and the two powers, which in truth represented two hostile races and two different systems of civilization and thought and ideals, regarded one another as rival Churches. Where the historian sees Hellenism in conflict with Slavic society, the combatants hate each other as ecclesiastical foes, orthodox on the one hand, schismatic on the other.

Before our eyes, in this present generation, there has occurred one of these great national and social struggles, a struggle still undetermined, between the Bulgarian and the Hellenic nationality. When the Bulgarian national feeling was growing sufficiently definite to take separate form and to disengage itself from the vague formless mass of the Christian subjects of Turkey, it expressed itself first by demanding and in the year 1870 attaining separate ecclesiastical standing as the Church of the Exarchate. Since that time the war to determine the bounds between the spheres of Hellenism and of Bulgarian nationality has been waged under the form of a struggle between the adherents of the Patriarchate and of the Exarchate. We at a distance hardly comprehend how completely the ecclesiastical question overpowers all else in the popular estimation. It is not blood, not language, that determines the mind of the masses ; it is religion and the Church. The Bulgarian born and bred, who is Mohammedan by religion, sides with the Turks ; the Bulgarian who is of

the Patriarchate chooses Hellenism, and in ordinary course (if the natural tendency of history is not forcibly disturbed) his descendants will ultimately become Hellenes in language also; only in the Exarchate is the Bulgarian nationality supreme and lasting. Religion and the Church is the dominant principle.

In the islands and in Asia Minor you find the same condition. The Church is the one bond to hold together in feeling, aspirations and patriotism the scattered Hellenes. When we began to travel in the country thirty years ago, there were many cities and villages, where the Orthodox Church claimed the adherence of considerable bodies of population, yet where the Greek language was neither spoken nor understood. These people had no common blood: they were Isaurians, or Cappadocians, or Lycionians, men of Pontus or Bithynia or Phrygia. But they were one people in virtue of their one Church; they knew themselves to be Hellenes, because they belonged to the Church of the Hellenes. The memory of their past lived among these Hellenes, and as that memory grew stronger it awoke their ancient tongue to life; and now their children all speak the language of the Eastern Roman Empire, and look forward to the reawakening of the Christian¹ unity as a practical factor in the development of the country. That old Roman Empire is not dead, but sleeping. It will die only when Hellenism ceases in the Aegean lands, and when the Church is no longer a living force among their population.

We see, then, what a power among men this Orthodox Church has been and still is—not a lovable power, not a

¹ It is the only "Christian" Empire to the Hellenes, who call no man Christian unless he is a member of the Orthodox Church. The old distinction between Hellenes and Barbaroi is now expressed as a classification into "Christians" or Orthodox and all others.

beneficent power, but stern, unchanging, not exactly hostile to but certainly careless of literature and art and civilization, sufficient for itself, self-contained and self-centred. The historian must regard with interest this marvellous phenomenon, and he must try to understand it as it appears in the centuries.

I set before you a problem and a question. I do not attempt to answer it. It is not my province or my work to propose theories ; but to ask questions, to state problems, and to observe and register facts, looking at them in the light of these questions. And during the last seven years, it has fallen to my lot to study closely the monuments, the hieratic architecture and the epitaphs which reveal something of the development of the Orthodox Church in the region of Lycaonia. I have had to copy many hundreds of Christian inscriptions ranging from the gravestone of a bishop of the third century to an epitaph dated under the Seljuk Turks in the years 1160-1169. It would be pedantic and impossible on this occasion to attempt even an outline of the results which follow from the study of these epitaphs, and of the "thousand-and-one churches"¹ in which the piety of the inhabitants found expression. I shall restrict myself to a few general statements.

1. The inscriptions are almost all engraved upon the tombstones of the ordinary population of a provincial district. Even the bishops who are mentioned must, as a rule, be regarded as mere village-bishops (*χωρεπίσκοποι*). Similarly, the ecclesiastical buildings belong not to capitals of provinces or to great cities, but to villages and unimportant towns, where there was little education

¹ This name (Bin-Bir-Kilisse) is the descriptive appellation given by outsiders to the modern village which occupies part of the site of the ancient Barata, but not used by the villagers themselves (who call their home Maden-Sheher).

but a high standard of material comfort. Those of which I to-day speak lie in and around the humble and almost unknown town of Barata. But in the humbleness of its information lies the real value of this evidence. It reveals to us the lower and the middle class of society ; it sets before us the commonplace individuals who composed the Imperial State.

The epitaphs help to fill up a gap in the information which literary authorities furnish about the Christian Empire. Those authorities give their attention to emperors and courtiers and generals, to the capital of the Empire with its mob and its splendours, to bishops and church leaders, to œcumenical councils and the rise of heresies. But the world is made up of ordinary, commonplace men. The leaders cannot exist, unless there is a people to be led. There are indeed scattered about in the literary authorities certain pieces of evidence about the common world ; and there are more in the private correspondence of writers and great men. But this evidence has never been collected. It is to the humbler epitaphs that we must look for aid in attempting to estimate the influence which the Church exerted on the mass of the people, and to appreciate the standard of education and life which it produced among the general population, especially in small towns and villages.

The Lycaonian gravestones will give at least the beginning of the material for answering the questions which are thus raised. Though a few of the epitaphs are earlier and a moderate number are later, yet the great mass of them belong to the fourth and fifth centuries (especially the period 330-450 A.D.). They set before us, on the whole, the Church as it was from the time of Constantine to that of Theodosius, the Church of Basil of Caesareia, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Amphilochius

of Iconium—a great period in ecclesiastical history. I am convinced that some passages in the literature and many in the letters written by the contemporary leaders of the Church will acquire a new and fuller meaning and more living realism through comparison with these memorials of their humble followers.

To take just one example. When Gregory of Nyssa wished about 380–390 A.D. to build a memorial chapel, he wrote to Amphilochius at Iconium begging him to furnish workmen capable of executing the work, and he wrote afterwards a very full description of the cruciform church which he hoped to build. We have now abundant evidence that the cruciform was in those regions the accepted type for memorial churches. We find in the country subject to the metropolitan bishop of Iconium a quite unexpected number of churches in almost every form known to Byzantine architecture. And we see in the gravestones through the country north and north-east from Iconium a marked inferiority in the technique of sculptor and architect, and an equally marked superiority throughout the hill-country that lies near Iconium on the south and south-west. The fashionable type of ornament on the gravestones of this latter region is architectural, as if architecture were the dominant art in the district. It was, therefore, natural that the Bishop of Nyssa should have recourse to Iconium for artisans able to build and to adorn the church which he had in mind.

The picture of the Lycaonian Church that we put together from these humble memorials is, on the whole, a very favourable one. The Church was still the educator of the people. The Presbyteros is set before us in simple, striking terms as the helper of the orphan, the widow, the poor and the stranger. We have little or no trace of alliance with the State: we have the Church of the people,

creator of charitable and hospitable institutions, the Church as it was in the mind and the aspirations of Basil.

We find Lycaonia a Christian land in the fourth century.¹ It is the one province of Asia Minor whose ecclesiastical organization can be traced already perfect and complete in the councils of the fourth century. This organization, therefore, must be in great part older than the persecution of Diocletian. From the correspondence of Basil of Caesareia we learn that as early as A.D. 370 a city church was already only one part of a great surrounding complex of buildings for public utility, a centre for social and public convenience. The church was already fully marked as the focus of city life; and future discovery will, beyond all question, carry back the beginnings of this conception of the ecclesiastical building to a much earlier time. It is the original idea of the early Christian world, when the Church raised its claim in competition with the Empire to be the parent and guide of the people. The Christian establishment took the place of the ancient Anatolian hieron.

Such was the constructive and governing idea which was embodied in Basil's great foundation at Caesareia of Cappadocia—which included an almshouse, a place of entertainment for strangers, both those who were on a journey and those who required medical treatment on account of sickness, and so established a means of giving these men the comfort they wanted—doctors, means of conveyance, and escort.”² A church is mentioned³ as part of this establishment. It was the necessary centre for the whole series of constructions. The Caesarean establish-

¹ The few pagan inscriptions of the period belong, some certainly, some probably, to the engineered anti-Christian movement under Diocletian and Maximin, on which see *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 106 ff.

² *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 385.

³ See the description given by Basil of the principal buildings in his Letter XCIV.

ment illustrates the view taken by the whole Church in the early centuries.

Even the cistern or water-tank at such centres was intended, not as a baptistery for hieratic purposes, but simply to afford a supply of water for public convenience : this is proved by the cisterns at many establishments similar in character but smaller in scale, which we have found throughout Lycaonia. In that waterless region a permanent water-supply was indispensable for comfort ; and as running water can very rarely be supplied, a tank or cistern for storage was used instead of the fountain, which would have been employed in a district where streams and running sources were abundant.

2. In the second place, it has fallen to my lot to co-operate in studying and excavating a group of about seventy churches in and around the Lycaonian city of Barata, fifty miles south-east of Ikonion, and subject from 372 A.D. onwards to the metropolitan of that city. These churches form a definite group, possessing a certain unity, revealing to us the history of a small Lycaonian city from the fifth to the twelfth century. The memorials of city life were no longer recorded in inscriptions and the other monuments of the old Greek cities : they stand before us in the churches built by the piety or the sense of public duty of the people, often by the piety of individuals similar to the Bishop of Laodiceia. These churches have to be studied by the historians as the one form in which the public spirit and patriotism of the Byzantine cities sought expression. The church was the focus of the national life, and the ecclesiastical buildings mirrored the fortunes and the sufferings of the people.

To take one example : the outstanding fact with regard to the Byzantine Empire as a whole and with regard especially to Asia Minor, is that they were exposed to the full force of the attack which the barbarism of Asia was

constantly making on the Roman Empire and the Hellenic civilization.¹ The Church of Anatolia, if we rightly estimate its character, could not remain insensible to the great national struggle against the Sassanian and Arab invaders, that dread, ever-present danger. Accordingly, we find that one of the churches at Barata was the *memorion* of a citizen who "died in the war," another of one who "endured many wounds," and a third was built as the memorial of a general who had led the Byzantine armies: his name is not given, but only his position in the Empire, for he was doubtless the only native of this obscure town that ever attained that high rank in the army, and hence he is called simply "the Domestikos." The largest and probably the most magnificent church in the town was decorated with paintings executed by certain artists, who are named, under the direction of Indakos, monk, presbyter and eponymous tribune; and a fifth church was dedicated according to the vow of Mammias the Tribune. When we see that churches form the angle of the fortifications of the city, that monasteries make part of the walls, that a small church crowns many a little hill near the line of the walls as well as every high peak of the mountains farther away, we realize that the Byzantine Church marshalled and inspired the Hellenes of the later Empire to defend Hellenism against barbarism, and that the Tribunes who built those churches were at once ecclesiastical, municipal, and military officers.

Hitherto we have been too much disposed to think that because the regular army of the Empire was professional and the soldiers of the later Roman period were almost a caste and not a truly national army, no power of resistance and self-defence was developed in the districts that were most exposed to Arab attack. But the churches of Barata

¹ See e.g., *Studies in the History of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, p. 287

tell a different tale, and their evidence is confirmed at a later period by the example of Philadelphia,¹ which maintained itself by the energy of its own citizens, unaided and even disowned by the Empire, against the victorious Turks for a century. Where the people had the army to depend on, they trusted to it ; but where, as in Barata and Philadelphia, they were left open to the constant attacks of the enemy without military protection, they trusted to themselves and the Saints. It was Michael, commander of the hosts of heaven, and the other Saints on every prominent point of the city and every peak of the mountain, who marshalled and stimulated the defensive efforts of the people of Barata.

Here, again, we see how close the Imperial Church stood to the life of the people. But this nearness was bought at a heavy price, and much of the character of the Orthodox Church was sacrificed to attain it. If we take the succession of the ecclesiastical buildings at Barata, ranging from the fifth to the tenth or the eleventh century, we can trace in them, especially through their dedications, the change of feeling : we see the degeneration of the Imperial Church to the popular level of thought and religion, the revival of the old pagan religion of Asia Minor, and the resuscitation of the ancient gods under Christian names.

An example, the most striking out of many, occurs on the summit of the mountain that overhangs Barata on the south. Standing on that lofty peak, an island in the Lycaonian plain, 7,000 feet above sea level, one remembers the ancient idea, nowhere stronger than in Anatolia, that all lofty peaks were the chosen home of Divine power, and feels certain that this was a " High Place " of the old paganism. The proof is at hand. Although in the change of religion the old sanctuary has been destroyed, and a

¹ *Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 400, 412.

monastery, a church and a memorial chapel (which bears the name of Leo), cover almost the entire summit, and conceal the earlier features of the place, yet the traces of the original "High Place" are not entirely obliterated.

In the rocks that support the church on the north side is a passage, partly natural, partly artificial, now to some extent narrowed by walls of the Byzantine period. On the rock walls of this passage, perhaps formerly hidden by Byzantine building, are two inscriptions in the ancient hieroglyphics, which are now generally called Hittite, but which were probably Anatolian in origin.¹ These put the ancient sacral character of the locality beyond all question. We have here the first known example of a Hittite "High Place" not entirely destroyed; and we see that its ancient sanctity was preserved in a Christianized form by the Byzantine Church.

A few miles to the north-west, on a little outlying peak of the mountain, is another "High Place," untouched by any destroying hand except that of time and weather, where a pinnacle of rock lent itself readily to be cut into the rough semblance of a great "throne," on which the unseen power of the god might rest. It bears two inscriptions in the Anatolian hieroglyphics and a representation either of the god or of his priest-king equipped in the semblance of the god. Here the ancient sanctity was not officially maintained by the Orthodox Church, and therefore the features of the locality remain unaltered.

It is rarely possible to determine the exact form either of the ancient pagan cult or of the Christian transformation. It is probable from the modern name Mahalitch, the highest peak, where the memorial chapel of Leo and the other foundations stand, that the church was dedicated to Michael

¹ The argument to this effect is stated in the Preface to my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I. p. xiv. f.

the Archangel, who led the hosts of heaven in aid of the Christian people. He was often worshipped on mountains and as the protector of Byzantine cities ; and, as he is mentioned in the opening line of a long inscription in the largest church of Barata, he must doubtless have been regarded as its champion against the Arab and other invaders. The memorial chapel of a certain Paul in the ninth century was dedicated to St. Konon. St. George is painted on the aisle of an early church. The name of Michael can be read beside a defaced painting in the north entrance of another. These are the only details that we have recovered.

We observe three periods in the development of the churches of Barata and the vicinity. During the fifth to the seventh century, we have churches in the lower city, and a group of monasteries high on the hills above the city. From A.D. 700 to 850 we trace the destruction of the lower city by the Arabs, and the formation of the principal group of monasteries into a fortified town. Between 850 and 1070 occurred the revival of the lower city, as the Arabs were driven back and the danger which had driven the people of Barata into the safe obscurity of the mountains diminished and came to an end. Then the people began to rebuild in the lower ground the ancient city, which now lies a ruined town of the period 850-1070. Several of the largest churches which had fallen into ruins were then restored and remodelled ; and it is still possible to trace the changes which were made in order to repair as quickly as possible the shell of the old buildings. Some of the smaller churches perhaps remained standing, having survived the destruction wrought by the Arabs and perhaps by earthquakes. But the majority of the churches which the traveller surveys were probably built from the foundations in the ninth or tenth century. The city was now of smaller extent, and at least one church seems to have been left unrepaired on the western side of the town.

A deterioration in the builder's art is now manifest. The churches were built on good old plans ; but the work was carried out rudely and probably in great haste ; yet the haste is rather that of carelessness than of urgent need. There are no signs of loving desire to make the work as good and rich as possible. We cannot, indeed, say how far colour may have been employed to supplement the strictly architectural work ; but the style is indisputably rather mean in character. The late churches produce the general impression of a degenerating people, a dying civilization, an epoch of ignorance, and an Empire going to ruin.

Still, with all their faults, even these late buildings retain for the most part a certain dignity and an effective simplicity. The tradition of the old Byzantine architecture was preserved in this sequestered nook, so long as the Imperial government maintained itself. Even now the architectural ideal is not wholly destroyed. It is there in those ruined and deserted churches, which breathe inspiration for those who understand them—and especially for every Hellene. The ideal can perish only when the last Hellene dies, and that ideal is the expression in concrete form of the Church of the Hellenes. But when, however, the Christian Empire shrank to narrower limits, and Barata was left to the Turks, the dignity of the Imperial Church was lost, and its places of worship show themselves plainly to be the meeting-places of a servile population.

The Imperial Church lives, and while it lives the Imperial unity is not dead, but only asleep. It is like the old German Kaiser Barbarossa, who led his army of the great Crusade from the Hellespont to Cilicia, triumphing over every difficulty with marvellous skill and tenacity of purpose, to disappear from the eyes of men in the waters of the Calycadnos : but the creative imagination of popular belief knew that he is not dead, that he waits the moment and the signal to reappear among men. So it is with Hellenism

as a world-power. It may revive : the Church has always to be reckoned with as a possibility in the future. Asia has in store as great issues and as great surprises for the western world in the future as she has often produced in the past.

And since I have mentioned the Kaiser of romance and the Crusade that he led across Asia Minor, I may venture, in the last words addressed to the Historical Congress in the German Capital, to recall the new German Crusade which is conducting another march across the same land. It is no more an army of mail-clad warriors. It is an army of engineers and workmen. At Dorylaion, where the first Crusade fought its first great battle, at Ikonion, where Barbarossa gained his greatest victory, you find now large German workshops and German hotels. This new Crusade moves more slowly than the army of Barbarossa ; but it moves more surely. It has surmounted difficulties as great as those which Kaiser Friederich met. It has yet other even greater difficulties to encounter. It has to accommodate its organization to the people of the land, and give form to itself as part of the national resources.

The historian must regard with the keenest attention this great historical development. He must admire the forethought and the patient tenacity with which every obstacle is provided for and overcome, and he watches with interest how the arrangement with the Orthodox Church and the power of the new Hellenism will be concluded. For myself, as I have loved on many journeys to trace step by step the victorious march of the old German Kaiser, and as I have with keenest interest and growing admiration watched every stage from the beginning of this new Crusade, so I look forward to observing on what terms and in what spirit the new Crusaders will meet—as they must inevitably at some time meet—the force of the old Imperial Church.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

IX.

NEO-BABYLONIAN THEORIES—JEWISH AND APOCRYPHAL IDEAS

THE inadequacy of previous attempts to explain the Resurrection of Jesus out of natural grounds is convincingly shown by the rise of a new mythological school, which, discarding, or at least dispensing with, theories of vision and apparition, proposes to account for the "Resurrection-legend"—indeed for the whole New Testament Christology¹—by the help of conceptions imported into Judaism from Babylonia and other parts of the Orient (Egyptian, Arabian, Persian, etc.). The rise of this school is connected particularly with the brilliant results of exploration in the East during the last half century, and with the consequent vast enlargement in our knowledge of peoples and religions of remote antiquity. The mythologies of these ancient religions—the study of comparative mythology generally—puts, it is thought, into the hands of scholars a golden key to open locks in Old and New Testament religion which have hitherto remained closed to the most painstaking efforts of the learned.² The prestige which this new Babylonian school has already gained through its novelty and boldness of speculation entitles it to a consideration which, perhaps, if only its own merits were regarded, would hardly be accorded to it.

It is well to apprehend at the outset the position taken up by this revolutionary Babylonian school. It is the

¹ Cf. Gunkel, *Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständniss des Neuen Testaments*, pp. 64, 89–95.

² Gunkel, p. 78: "Already in the Old Testament there are mysterious portions [he instances the "servant of Jehovah" in Isaiah] which hitherto have defied all attempts at interpretation," etc.

fact that myths of resurrection, though in vague, fluctuating form, to which the character of historical reality cannot for a moment be attached, are not infrequent in Oriental religions.¹ They are traceable in later even more than in earlier times, and specially are found in connection with the Mysteries. The analogies pressed into the service of their theories by scholars are often sufficiently shadowy,² but it is admitted that the myths used in the Mysteries and related festivals, whether Egyptian, Persian, Phrygian, Syrian, or Greek, had all a certain family likeness. They all turn, as Boissier remarks in his *La Religion Romaine*, on the death and resurrection of a god, and, in order still more to inflame the religious sensibility, in all the tales the god is loved by a goddess, who loses and refinds him, who mourns over his death, and ends by receiving him back to life. "In Egypt, it is Isis, who seeks Osiris, slain by a jealous brother; in Phoenicia, it is Astarte or Venus, who weeps for Adonis; on the banks of the Euxine, it is Cybele, the great mother of the gods, who sees the beautiful Attis die in her arms."³ Older than any of these, and, on the new theory, the parent of most of them, is the often-told Babylonian myth of Ishtar and Tammuz.⁴ All, in truth, are nature-myths, telling the same story of the death of nature in winter, and its revival in spring, or of the conquest of light by darkness, and the return of brightness with the new sunrise.⁵ But

¹ For examples, see Cheyne, *Bible Problems*, pp. 119-22; Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, pp. 60-82; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ii. pp. 115-168; Zimmern in Schrader's *Keilinschriften*, pp. 387 ff., 643.

² As when Zimmern connects this idea with the Babylonian god Marduk; or Cheyne (*ut supra*, p. 119) instances the myth of Osiris, "who after a violent death lived on in the person of his son Horus!"

³ Boissier, i. p. 408.

⁴ See the story in full in Sayce's Hibbert Lectures, *The Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, Lect. IV., "Tammuz and Ishtar."

⁵ Cf. Gunkel, *ut supra*, p. 77; A. Jeremias, *Babylonisches im N.T.*, pp. 8 ff., 11, 19, etc.

in the Mysteries an allegorical significance was read into these myths, and they became the instruments of a moral symbolism, in which faint resemblances to Christian ideas can be discerned.

All this is old and tolerably familiar. But the Babylonian school goes much further. It is no longer parallels merely which are sought between the Gospel narratives and pagan myths, but an actual derivation is proclaimed. Ancient Babylonia had developed a comprehensive world-theory of which its mythology is the imaginative expression. These myths spread into all countries, receiving in each local modification; Israel, which came into contact with, and in Canaan deeply imbibed, this culture, could not escape being affected by it. Winckler, and in a more extreme form Jensen, find in Babylonian mythology the key not only to the so-called legends of the patriarchs, of Moses and Aaron, and of the Judges, but to the histories of Samuel, of Saul and David, of Elijah and Elisha. Now, by Gunkel, Cheyne, Jensen, and others, the theory is extended to the New Testament. Filtering down through Egypt, Canaan, Arabia, Phoenicia, Persia, there came, it is alleged, myths of virgin-births, of descents into Hades, of resurrections and ascensions; these, penetrating into Judaism, became attached to the figure of the expected Messiah—itself of old-world derivation--and gave rise to the idea that such and such traits would be realized in Him. Dr. Cheyne supposes that there was a written “pre-Christian sketch” of the Messiah, which embodied these features.¹ One form of the Jewish conception is seen in the picture of the woman clothed with the sun in Revelation xii. More definitely, the form which the conception assumed in Christian circles is seen in the legends of Christ’s birth and infancy, in the incidents and miracles

¹ *Ut supra*, p. 128.

of His ministry, in the three days and nights of His burial in the tomb, and in the stories of His Resurrection and Ascension. It is the mythical theory of Strauss over again, with the substitution of Babylonian mythology for Old Testament prophecy as the foundation of an imaginary history of Jesus.

The shapes which this theory assumes in the hands of the writers who advocate it are naturally various. A few instances may be given.

Dr. Cheyne goes far enough in assuring us that "there are parts of the New Testament—in the Gospels, in the Epistles, and in the Apocalypse—which can only be accounted for by the newly-discovered fact of an Oriental syncretism which began early and continued late. And the leading factor in this is Babylonian." Among the beliefs the "mythic origin" of which is thus accounted for, is "the form of the belief in the Resurrection of Christ."¹ His "pre-Christian sketch" theory is alluded to below.

Gunkel's position is not dissimilar, and is wrought out in more detail. Judaism and Christianity, he holds, are both examples of syncretism in religion.² Both are deeply penetrated by ideas diffused through the Orient, and derived chiefly from Babylonia. He states his thesis thus: "That in its origin and shaping (*Ausbildung*) the New Testament religion stood, in weighty, indeed essential points, under the decisive influence of foreign religions, and that this influence was transmitted to the men of the New Testament through Judaism."³ He traces the penetrative influence of Oriental conceptions in Judaism, with special respect to the doctrine of the resurrection;⁴

¹ *Bible Problems*, pp. 19, 117.

² *Ut supra*, pp. 34, 117. Judaism must be named "Eine synkretistische Religion." So, "Das Christentum ist eine synkretistische Religion."

³ *Ut supra*, p. 1.

⁴ Pp. 31-35.

finds in it the origin of the Messianic idea, and of the Christology of St. Paul and St. John ;¹ and derives from it the Gospel narratives of the Infancy,² the Transfiguration,³ the Resurrection from the dead on the third day,⁴ the appearance to the disciples on the way to Emmaus,⁵ the Ascension,⁶ the origin of Sunday as a Christian festival,⁷ etc.

A. Jeremias, from a believing standpoint, criticizes this position of Gunkel's, and the denial of the absoluteness of Christianity connected with it.⁸ Sharing the same general view that "the Israelitish-Judaic background" of the New Testament writings "is no other than the Babylonian, or better, the old Oriental background,"⁹ he sees in the Babylonian mythology a pre-ordained providential preparation for the Gospel history and the Christian religion, the essential truths of which he accepts.¹⁰ The resurrection of a god formed part of the universally-spread mythus.¹¹

Everything hitherto attempted, however, in the application of this theory to the Biblical history is hopelessly left behind in the latest book which has appeared on the subject—Professor Jensen's *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur*, of which, as yet, only the first volume has appeared. But this extends to 1,030 pages. It treats

¹ Pp. 24–5, 64, 89–95. "The form of the Messiah belongs to this original mythological material" (p. 24).

² Pp. 65–70.

³ P. 71 (likewise the Baptism and Temptation narratives, pp. 70–1).

⁴ Pp. 76–83.

⁵ P. 71.

⁶ Pp. 71–2.

⁷ Pp. 73–76.

⁸ *Bab. im N.T.*, p. 1.

⁹ P. 3.

¹⁰ Pp. 6, 46, 48, etc. The heathen myths are "Schattenbilder" (prefigurations, foreshadowings) of the Christian verities.

¹¹ Pp. 8–10. Jeremias has, however, little to say on the application to the Resurrection of Christ. He makes much more of the Virgin-birth (pp. 46 ff.). He says that no one who understands the circle of conceptions of the ancient Orient will doubt that Isa. vii. 14, in the sense of the author, really means a "virgin" (p. 47).

of the origins of the legends of the Old Testament patriarchs, prophets, and deliverers, and of the New Testament legend of Jesus, embracing all the incidents of His history—birth, life, miracles, death, and Resurrection. All, as the title suggests, are treated as transformations and elaborations of the old Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh and Eabani. We have *Abraham-Gilgamesh*, *Jacob-Gilgamesh*, *Moses-Gilgamesh*, *Joshua-Gilgamesh*, *Samson-Gilgamesh*, *Samuel-Gilgamesh*, *Saul-Gilgamesh*, *David-Gilgamesh*, *Solomon-Gilgamesh*, *Elijah-Gilgamesh*, *Elisha-Gilgamesh*, etc. With endless iteration the changes are rung on a few mythical conceptions; personages are blended, and attributes and incidents are transferred at will from one to another; the most far-fetched and impossible analogies are treated as demonstrations. The basis being laid in the Old Testament, the stories of John the Baptist and Jesus are then affiliated to the Gilgamesh myths through their supposed Old Testament parallels. For instance, the Resurrection of “*Jesus-Gilgamesh*” is supposed to be suggested by such incidents as the revival of the dead man cast into the grave of Elisha, on touching the bones of the prophet,¹ and the removal of the bones of Saul² and Samson³ from their respective tombs!⁴ “Incredible such trifling,” one is disposed to exclaim. Not incredible, but the newest and truest “scientific” treatment of history, on the most approved “*religionsgeschichtliche*” methods, thinks Jensen himself. The result, at least, in this author’s learned pages, is the removal of the last particle of historicity from the life of Jesus in the Gospels. Such a person as Jesus of Nazareth “never existed”—“never lived.”⁵ “The Jesus-legend is an Israelitish

¹ 2 Kings xiii. 21.

² 2 Sam. xxi. 12–14.

³ Judges xvi. 31.

⁴ *Gilgamesch-Epos*, p. 923; cf. pp. 471, 697.

⁵ P. 1026.

Gilgamesh-legend,"¹ attached to some person of whom we know absolutely nothing—neither time nor country.² "This Jesus has never walked the earth, has never died on earth, because He is actually *nought* but an Israelitish *Gilgamesh*—*nought* but a counterpart (*Seitenstück*) to Abraham, to Moses, and to innumerable other forms of the legend."³

It is needless to confront a reasoner like Jensen, confident in his multiplied proofs (?) that the Gospel history is throughout simply a *Gilgamesh*-legend, with the testimony of St. Paul. Everything that St. Paul has to tell of Jesus in his four accepted Epistles (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians) belongs with the highest probability to the *Gilgamesh*-legend.⁴ True, St. Paul tells how he abode fifteen days with St. Peter at Jerusalem, and then saw, and doubtless spoke with St. James, the Lord's brother; and again how fourteen years later he met this same brother at Jerusalem. That is, he met the brother of this perfectly legendary character.⁵ Jensen's reply is simple. Since the Jesus of the Gospels and of the Epistles never existed, St. Paul could not have done what he describes. If these notices actually come from him, "the man either tells a falsehood, or he has been mystified in a wonderful way in Jerusalem."⁶ It is a suspicious circumstance that St. Paul has to confirm his statement about seeing St. James with an oath.⁷ It adds to the doubt that in 1 Corinthians xi., in its present form, this same St. Paul is found declaring that he received the quite mythical account of the institution of the Lord's Supper as a revelation of the Lord!⁸ "The ground here sinks beneath our feet."⁹

Jensen is an extremist, and his book may be regarded

¹ P. 1024.² P. 1026.³ P. 1029.⁴ P. 1027.⁵ P. 1028.⁶ Ibid.⁷ Ibid.⁸ Ibid.⁹ P. 1029.

as the *reductio ad absurdum* of a theory which, before him, had been getting cut more and more away from the ground of historical fact. It is to that ground the endeavour must be made to bring it back. The Resurrection of Jesus, it has already been shown, is a fact which rests on historical evidence. What has the theory just described to say to this evidence? It is a theory, obviously, which may be applied in different ways. It may be applied, e.g., to explain special *traits* in the narratives without denying the general facts of a death, a burial, and subsequent appearances of Jesus. It may be combined with a vision theory, and used, as indeed in part it is, by A. Meyer¹ and Professor Lake,² to explain how the stories of these appearances came to take on their present form. Or, treating the whole account of the Resurrection as mythical, it may give itself no concern with the facts, and simply seek to account for the origin of the legend.

It is probably doing the theory no injustice to say that, in the hands of its chief exponents, it is the latter point of view which rules. There is no necessity for discussing the empty tomb, or the reality of Christ's appearances. Enough to show that the history, as we have it, is a deposit of mythological conceptions. Gunkel, e.g., excuses himself from discussion of the origin of faith in the Resurrection,³ and confines himself to elucidating the form of the legend. Jensen, as just seen, regards the whole as a purely mythological growth. Cheyne has nearly as little to say on the historical basis. If this view be adopted, it cuts belief in the Resurrection away from the ground of history altogether, and it might be enough to reply to it—the history is *there*, and it is utterly impossible, by any

¹ *Die Auferstehung Christi*, 184–5, 353–4.

² *Resur. of Jesus Christ*, pp. 260–3.

³ Pp. 76–7.

legerdemain of the kind proposed, to get rid of it. You do not get rid of facts by simply proposing to give an artificial mythological explanation of them. The Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles still stand, as containing the well-attested accounts which the Church of Apostolic days had to give of its own origin. These accounts had not the remotest relation to Gilgamesh epics, nature-myths of Egyptian, Greek, or Persian Mysteries, or pagan speculations of any kind, but were narratives of plain facts, known to the whole Church, and attested by Apostles and others who were themselves eye-witnesses of most of the things which they related. It was the fact that on the Friday the Lord was publicly crucified, and died ; that He was buried in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathæa, in presence of many spectators ; that on the morning of the third day—"the first day of the week"—the tomb was visited by holy women, who found it empty, and received the message that Jesus had risen, as He said ; that on the same day He appeared to individual disciples (Mary, St. Peter, the disciples going to Emmaus), and, in the evening, to the body of the disciples (the eleven) ; that afterwards there were other appearances which the Evangelists and St. Paul recount ; that, after forty days, He was taken from them up to heaven. The attempts to break down this history have been studied in previous chapters, and proof has been given that these attempts have failed.

Now, in lieu of the history, and as a new discovery, there is offered us this marvellous mythological construction, by which *all* history, and most previous theories of explanation as well, are swept into space. In dealing with it as a rival theory, not of the origin of belief in the Resurrection, for that it can hardly be said to touch, but of the Gospel story of the Resurrection, it must in frank-

ness be declared of it that it labours under nearly every possible defect which a theory of the kind can have. This judgment it is necessary, but not difficult, to substantiate.

1. One thing which must strike the mind about the theory at once is the *baselessness* of its chief assumptions. Nothing need be said here of the general astral Babylonian hypothesis with which it starts, or of the assumed universal diffusion of this astral theory throughout the East. That must stand or fall on its own merits.¹ Nor need the traces of the influence of Oriental symbolism in Old Testament prophecy, or in Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic, be denied, if such really can be established. But what is to be said of the allegation on the correctness of which the application to the New Testament depends, of a wholesale absorption of Babylonian mythology by the Jewish nation, and the crystallization of this mythology round the idea of the Messiah in Jewish popular thought in pre-Christian times? What proof worthy of the name can be given of such an assumption? Dr. Cheyne's form of the theory, already referred to, had best be stated in his own words. "The four forms of Christian belief," he says, "which we have been considering are the Virgin-birth of Jesus Christ, His descent into the nether world, His Resurrection, and His Ascension. On the ground of facts supplied by archæology, it is plausible to hold that all these arose out of a pre-Christian sketch of the life, death, and exaltation of the expected Messiah, itself ultimately derived from a widely current mythic tradi-

¹ Winckler's theory on this subject is still the subject of much dispute among scholars (cf. Lake, *Resur. of Jesus Christ*, pp. 260-2). Prof. Lake says on its application to Scripture: "The difficulty is to decide how far this theory is based on fact, and how far it is merely guess-work" (p. 262). For a popular statement of Winckler's theory, see his *Die Babylonische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zur unsrigen* (1902), and in criticism of Winckler and Jeremias, E. König, "*Altorientalische Weltanschauung*" und *Altes Testament*.

tion respecting a solar deity.”¹ And earlier, “The Apostle Paul, when he says (1 Cor. xv. 3, 4) that Christ died and that He rose again ‘according to the Scriptures,’ in reality points to a pre-Christian sketch of the life of Christ, partly—as we have seen—derived from widely-spread non-Jewish myths, and embodied in Jewish writings.”² With this drapery it is assumed that the figure of Jesus of Nazareth was clothed. But where is the faintest trace of evidence of such a pre-Christian Jewish sketch of the Messiah, embracing Virgin-birth, Resurrection, and Ascension? It is nothing but an inferential conjecture from the Gospel narratives themselves, eked out by allusions to myths of deaths and resurrections of gods in other religions. These, as said above, are, in their origin, nature-myths. The Resurrection of Jesus was no nature-myth, but an event which happened three days after His Crucifixion, in an historical time, and in the case of an historical Personage. Parallels to *such* an event utterly fail.³

2. The baselessness of the foundation of the theory is only equalled by the *arbitrariness* of the methods by which a connexion with the Gospel story is sought to be bolstered up. Specimens of Professor Jensen’s reasonings have been given above, and no more need be said of them. But a like arbitrariness, if in less glaring form, infects the whole theory. In the Protean shapes assumed

¹ *Ut supra*, p. 128; cf. note xi. p. 252.

² P. 113. Gunkel may be compared, *ut supra*, pp. 68–9, 78–9.

³ Gunkel admits that “this belief in a dying and rising Christ was not present in *official* Judaism in the time of Jesus”; but thinks it may have lurked “in certain private circles” (*ut supra*, p. 79). Cheyne, in his own note, can give no evidence at all of writings alluding to a resurrection (*ut supra*, p. 254).

Jesus and His Apostles found, indeed, a suffering and rising Christ in the O.T., but their point of view (on this see Hengstenberg, *Christology*, vol. iv., app. iv.) was not that of contemporary Judaism. The disciples themselves were “slow of heart” to believe the things that Jesus spoke to them (Luke xxiv. 25–6, 44–6).

by Oriental mythology it is never difficult to pick out isolated traits which, by ingenious, if far-fetched combinations, can be made to present some resemblance to some feature or other in the Gospel story. Thus, as parallels to "the death of the world's Redeemer," we are told by Dr. Cheyne: "That the death of the solar deity, Marduk, was spoken of, and his grave shown, in Babylonia, is an ascertained fact; the death of Osiris and of other gods was an Egyptian belief, and, though a more distant parallel, one may here refer also to the empty grave of Zeus pointed out in Crete."¹ [Gunkel gives this last fact more correctly: "In Crete is shown the grave of Zeus, naturally an *empty* grave."²] Where facts fail, imagination is invoked to fill the gaps, this specially in the parts which concern the Resurrection. Thus, in Jeremias: "The 'grave of Bel' (Herod. i. 18), like the grave of Osiris, certainly stands in connexion (*zusammenhängt*) with the celebration of the death and resurrection of Marduk-Tammuz (Lehmann, i. p. 276), even *though we still possess no definite testimonies to a festival of the death and resurrection of Marduk-Tammuz*"³ (italics ours). Gunkel thinks that the Jewish belief in the resurrection compels us to "postulate" that "in the Orient of that time belief in the resurrection must have ruled."⁴ Jensen has to face the fact, that the Gilgamesh epic has nothing about a resurrection. But, he says, "that the Babyloniana Gilgamesh, who must die, in the oldest form of his legend (*Sage*) rose again from the dead, appears self-evident. For he is a Sun-god, and sun-gods, like gods of light and warmth, who die, must also, among the Babylonians, rise again."⁵ The oldest form of the Elisha-Gilgamesh legend, he thinks, probably included a translation to heaven, and, as an in-

¹ Pp. 253-4.² *Ut supra*, p. 77.³ *Ut supra*, p. 9.⁴ *Ut supra*, p. 33.⁵ *Ut supra*, p. 925.

ference from this, a resurrection.¹ Similarly, the Resurrection of Jesus is a "logical postulate" from the fact of His exaltation, in accordance with a long series of parallel myths.²

A special application of the theory to the Gospel history connects itself with the Resurrection "on the third day," and the origin of the Sunday festival. It is very difficult, indeed, to find suitable illustrations connecting resurrection with "the third day"—indeed, none are to be found. We are driven back on Jonah's three days in the fish, which Dr. Cheyne says is not sufficient to justify St. Paul's expression; ³ on the Apocalyptic "time and times and half a time," and three days and a half; on a Mandæan story of a "little boy of three years and one day"; on the Greek myth of Apollo slaying the serpent Pytho on the fourth day after his birth; on the festival of the resurrection of the Phrygian Attis on the fourth day after the lamentations over his death.⁴ This is actually supposed to be evidence. Gunkel makes a strong point of the festival of Sunday. How came the Resurrection of Jesus to be fixed down to a Sunday? How came this to be observed as a weekly festival? "All these difficulties are relieved, so soon as we treat the matter from the 'historical-religious' point of view."⁵ The "Lord's Day" was the day of the Sun-god; in Babylonian reckoning the first day of the week. Easter Sunday was the day of the sun's emergence from the night of winter.⁶ Can it be held, then, as accidental that this was the day on which Jesus arose? ⁷ It is really an ancient Oriental

¹ Pp. 923-4.

² P. 924.

³ *Ut supra*, p. 254.

⁴ Pp. 110-13; cf. Gunkel, *ut supra*, pp. 79-82; Lake, p. 263.

⁵ Gunkel, p. 74.

⁶ Pp. 74, 79. Thus also Loisy, *Les Évangiles Synoptiques*, ii. p. 721.

⁷ P. 79.

festival which is here being taken over by the primitive Christian community, as later the Church took over December 25 as Christmas Day.¹ It fails to be observed in this ingenious construction—wholly in the air, as if there was no such thing as history in the matter—that there is not a single word in the Gospels or in the New Testament connecting “the first day of the week”—reckoned in purely Jewish fashion by the “Sabbath”—with the day of the sun, or any use or suggestion of the name “Sunday.” The “primitive community” had other and far plainer reasons for remembrance of the “Lord’s Day” (Jesus alone was their “Lord,” and no sun-god), viz., in the fact that on the Friday of the Passover week He was crucified and entombed, and on the dawn of the first day of the week thereafter actually came forth, as He had predicted, victorious over the power of death, and appeared to His disciples.

This theory, in brief, destitute of adequate foundation, laden with incredibilities, and disdainful of the world of realities, has no claim whatever to supersede the plain, simply-told, historically well-attested narratives of the four Gospels as to the grounds of the Church’s belief from the beginning in the Resurrection of the Lord from the dead. As has frequently been said in these pages—*the Church knew its own origin*, and could be under no vital mistake as to the great facts on which its belief in Christ as its Crucified and Risen Lord rested. It is difficult to imagine what kind of persons the Apostles and Evangelists in some of these theories are taken for—children or fools? They were really neither, and the work they did, and the literature they have left, prove it. Who that has ever felt on his spirit the power of the impression of the picture and teaching of Jesus in the Gospels could

¹ Pp. 74-5, 79.

dream of accounting for it by a bundle of Babylonian myths? Who that has ever experienced the power of His Resurrection life could fancy the source of it an unreality?

It may be appropriate at this point to say a few words on the state of *Jewish belief* on the subject of resurrection. That the Jews in the time of Jesus were familiar with the idea of a resurrection of the dead (the Sadducees alone denying it)¹ is put beyond question by the Gospels, though there is no evidence, despite assertions to the contrary,² that they connected death and resurrection with the idea of the Messiah. The particular ideas entertained by the Jews of the resurrection-body,³ while of interest in themselves, have therefore only a slight bearing on the origin of belief in the Resurrection of Jesus from His tomb on the third day.⁴ That was an event, *sui generis*, outside the anticipations of the disciples, notwithstanding the repeated intimations which Jesus Himself had given them regarding it,⁵ and only forced upon their faith by indubitable evidence of the actual occurrence of the marvel. There is no reason to suppose that the idea of the resurrection of the body was a form subsequently imposed on a belief in the Lord's continued life⁶ originally gained in some other way. The Resurrection of Jesus never meant anything else in the primitive community than His Resurrection in the body.

Of greater importance is the question raised by Gunkel in his discussion as to *whence* the Jews derived their idea

¹ Matt. xxii. 23, etc.; cf. Acts xxiii. 6-8.

² As above; cf. John v. 28, 29; xi. 24; Matt. xiv. 2; and the instances of resurrection in the Gospels (Jairus's daughter, son of widow of Nain, Lazarus).

³ Gunkel and Cheyne give no proof, and none is to be had.

⁴ On these, cf. Lake, *ut supra*, pp. 23-7, with references.

⁵ As already seen, these were persistently misunderstood by the disciples. The critics mostly deny that they were given.

⁶ Thus Harnack and others.

of the resurrection. It is to be granted that Gunkel has a much profounder view of what he calls "the immeasurable significance" of this doctrine of the resurrection for the New Testament¹ than most other writers who deal with the topic. He claims that "this doctrine of the resurrection from the dead is one of the greatest things found anywhere in the history of religion,"² and devotes space to drawing out its weighty implications. Just, however, on account of "this incomparable significance" of the doctrine, he holds that it cannot be derived from within Judaism itself, but must take its origin from a ruling belief in the Orient of the later time.³ The existence of such a belief is a "postulate" from its presence in Judaism, and is thought to be supported by Oriental, especially by Egyptian and Persian, parallels.⁴ He discounts the evidence of the belief in the Old Testament furnished by passages in the Psalms, the prophets, and in Job. The doctrine, in short, "is not, as was formerly commonly maintained, and sometimes still is maintained, a genuine product of Judaism, but has come into Judaism from without."⁵ If this be so, it may be argued that it is really a pagan intrusion into Christianity, and ought not to be retained.

The "immeasurable significance" of the belief in resurrection among the Jews may be admitted, but Gunkel's inferences as to the foreign origin of the belief can only be contested. For—

1. The *link fails* to connect this belief with any foreign religions. Gunkel seems hardly aware of the paradox of his theory of a world filled with belief in the resurrection, while yet the Jews, till a late period, are supposed to have had no knowledge of it. But the theory itself is without

¹ *Ut supra*, p. 31.

² P. 32.

³ P. 33.

⁴ P. 33.

⁵ P. 31.

foundation. There is no evidence of any such *general* belief in a resurrection of the dead in ancient religions. No evidence of such general belief can be adduced from ancient Babylonia. Merodach may be hailed in a stray verse as "the merciful one, who raises the dead to life," and Ishtar may rescue Tammuz from Hades. But this falls far short of the proof required. Belief in the reanimation of the body may underlie the Egyptian practice of embalming, though this is disputed, but the developed Osiris-myth is comparatively late, and without provable influence on Judaism.¹ The alleged Persian or Zoroastrian influence is equally problematical. It is very questionable how far this doctrine is found in the old Persian religion at all.² The references to it are certainly few and ambiguous,³ and totally inadequate to explain the remarkable prominence which the doctrine assumed among the Jews.

2. The *adequate grounds* for the development of this doctrine are found in the Old Testament itself. It may be held, and has been argued for by the present writer,⁴ that, so far as a hope of immortality (beyond the shadowy and cheerless lot of Sheol) appears in the Old Testament, it is always in the form of deliverance from Sheol, and renewed life in the body. The state of death is neither a natural nor normal state for man, whose original destiny was immortality in the completeness of his personal

¹ On Merodach, Osiris and Resurrection, cf. Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pp. 24, 153 ff., 165, 168, 288, 329, etc.

² Schultz remarks: "This point [of influence] will be the more difficult to decide, the more uncertain it becomes how far this doctrine, the principal witness to which is the Bundelesh [a late work], was really old Persian" (*O.T. Theol.* ii. p. 392).

³ This can be tested by consulting the translation to the Zend-Avesta in *The Sacred Books of the East*. The indexes to the three volumes give only one reference to the subject, and that to an undated "Miscellaneous Fragment" at the end.

⁴ In *The Christian View of God and the World*: Appendix to Lect. V., "The Old Testament Doctrine of Immortality."

life in a body; and the same faith which enabled the believer to trust in God for deliverance from all ills of life, enabled him also, in its higher exercises, to trust Him for deliverance from death itself. This seems the true key to those passages in the Psalms and in Job which by nearly all but the new school of interpreters have been regarded as breathing the hope of immortality with God.¹ In the prophets, from Hosea down, the idea of a resurrection of the nation, including, may we not say, at least in such passages as Hosea vi. 2, xiii. 12, and Isaiah xxv. 6-8, xxvi. 19, the individuals in it, is a familiar one. A text like Daniel xii. 2 only draws out the individual implication of this doctrine with more distinctness. In later books, as 2 Maccabees, the Book of Enoch, Ezra iv., the doctrine is treated as established (sometimes resurrection of the godly, sometimes of righteous and wicked).

Little has been said in these discussions of the New Testament *Apocryphal* books,² the statements of which it has become customary to draw into comparison with the accepted Gospels. Only a few remarks need be made on them now. They have been kept apart because, in origin, character, and authority, they stand on a completely different footing from the canonical Gospels, and because there is not the least reason to believe that they preserve a single authentic tradition beyond those which the four Gospels contain. This has long been acknowledged with regard to the stories of the Infancy, the puerilities

¹ E.g., Pss. xvi. 8-11; xvii. 15; xlix. 14, 15; lxxiii. 24; Job xiv. 13-15 (R.V.); xix. 25-27. In his *Origin of the Psalter* Dr. Cheyne accepts the resurrection reference of several of these passages, seeing in them a proof of Zoroastrian influence (pp. 382, 406, 407, 431, etc.). This, however, as he himself acknowledges, is where leading scholars fail to support him (pp. 425, 451). Cf. Pusey, *Daniel*, pp. 512-17.

² A collection of some of the chief of these, edited and annotated by the present writer, may be seen in *The New Testament Apocryphal Writings*, in the "Temple Bible" series (Dent).

of which put them outside the range of serious consideration by any intelligent mind. No more reason exists for paying heed to the fabulous embellishments of the narratives of the Resurrection. A romance like *The Gospel of Nicodemus* (fifth cent.), whether based on a second century *Acts of Pilate* or not, receives attention from no one. It is simply a travesty and tricking out with extravagances of the material furnished by St. Matthew and the other Evangelists. More respect is paid to the recently discovered fragment of *The Gospel of Peter*,¹ which begins in the middle of Christ's trial, and breaks off in the middle of a sentence, with Peter and Andrew returning to their fishermen's toils, after the feast of unleavened bread is ended. Here, it is thought, is a distinct tradition, preserving the memory of that flight into Galilee which the canonical Gospels ignore. Yet at every point this Gospel shows itself dependent on St. Matthew and the rest, while freely manipulating and embellishing the tradition which they contain. A single specimen is enough to show the degree of credit to be attached to it. From St. Matthew is borrowed the story of the watch at the tomb, with adornments, the centurion, e.g., being named Petronius. The day of the Resurrection is called "the Lord's Day." Then, we read, as that day dawned, "While the soldiers kept watch two and two at their post, a mighty voice sounded in the heaven; and they saw the heavens opened, and two men descending from thence in great glory, and approaching the sepulchre. But that stone which had been placed at the door of the sepulchre rolled back of itself, and moved aside, and the tomb opened, and both the young men went in. When, therefore, those soldiers beheld this, they awakened the centurion and the elders—for they also were there to watch—and while they were

¹ A Gnostic Gospel of the 2nd century.

telling what they had seen, they beheld coming forth from the tomb three men, and the two supporting the one, and a cross following them. And the heads of the two reached indeed unto heaven, but the head of the one who was led by them reached far above the heavens. And they heard a voice from heaven that said: Hast thou preached unto those that sleep? And the answer was heard from the Cross: Yes. . . . And while they were yet pondering the matter, the heavens open again, and a man descends and goes into the sepulchre.”¹ This may be placed alongside of the narrative in the Gospel without comment.

JAMES ORR.

THE LAND OF EDOM.

I. PRELIMINARY.

IN the Old Testament the name Edom is essentially that of a people, and, as in the case of Moab,² it is doubtful whether it is ever applied by itself to their land; certainly not till the latest writers.³ The land is called *the land of Edom*,⁴ and *the field or territory of Edom*.⁵ In parallel to

¹ If it is argued that this is a simple expansion of St. Matthew's story of the watch, as the latter is an addition to St. Mark's, it may be observed that St. Matthew's story is an expansion or embellishment of nothing, but a distinct, independent narrative; while the story in *The Gospel of Peter* has evidently no basis but St. Matthew's account, which it decorates from pure fancy.

² See above, p. 6.

³ Obviously the people in Num. xx. 18 ff., JE; 1 Sam. xiv. 47, and many other passages. The dictionaries interpret it as the name of the land when used in the feminine, e.g. Jer. xlix. 17; Ezek. xxv. 13 f., xxxii. 29, xxxv. 15 (Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, takes it as land in Jer. xlix. 17. Ezek. xxxv. 15, but as people in Ezek. xxxii. 29). But in Mal. i. 4 (and elsewhere) it is used of the people with a feminine verb. There are passages in which we see how readily the name could pass from people to land, e.g. 2 Kings iii. 20; and there are others in which it may mean either, e.g. Num. xxxiv. 3, Josh. xv. 1.

⁴ אֶדֹם, Gen. xxxvi. 16 f., P; 1 Kings ix. 26; Isa. xxxiv. 6, and elsewhere.

⁵ שְׂדֵה אֶדֹם, Gen. xxxii. 4 [Eng. 3], J.E.; Jud. v. 4. It is doubtful whether שְׂדֵה is to be taken here in its geographical sense of *wild country* (Assyr., hill-country), or in its political sense of *territory*. There was also a *wilderness* of Edom.

the latter we find the name, *land of Sē'ir*,¹ sometimes called *Mount Sē'ir*,² or *Sē'ir* alone,³ and the people are named *sons of Sē'ir*.⁴ In addition, the Edomites are frequently called '*Esau*, or *sons of 'Esau*,⁵ and their land *the Mount of 'Esau*.⁶

It is perhaps impossible to trace with certainty the origins and meanings of these words. At the present day such names of Arab tribes as can be interpreted with any probability are derived from some ancestor, or from some locality (in a few cases proving the origin in Central Arabia of tribes now predominant in Mesopotamia or on the Syrian border), or from an animal once sacred to the tribe; or they record some crisis in their history, as "confederates," "clients," and the like; or describe their social habits, for example "cattle-men"; or are epithets, expressive of their characters as warriors or men, or of their noble descent.⁷ Numbers of the tribal names in the Old Testament have obviously one or another of such derivations; but none of these is clear in the case of Edom, '*Esau*, or *Sē'ir*. Edom has been variously supposed to be the name of a deity,⁸ a dialectic variation of the word for *man*, Adam; ⁹ or a reflection of the red colour of the rocks of their land on the east of the '*Arabah*.¹⁰ The deriva-

¹ Gen. xxxii. 4 [Eng. 3], JE.

² Gen. xiv. 6, xxxvi. 8 f., P and Red; Deut. i. 2, if. 1, 5; Josh. xxiv. 4, JE; 2 Chron. xx. 10, 22 f.; Ezek. xxxv. 2.

³ Deut. ii. 4, etc., xxxiii. 2; Jud. v. 4; Isa. xxi. 11.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxv. 11, 14, but in Gen. xxxvi. 20 f. *the sons of Sē'ir* are Horites. In Ezek. xxv. 8 Sē'ir = the people.

⁵ Deut. ii. 4 f.; Josh. xxiv. 4; Mal. i. 2; Obad. 6, and elsewhere. יְעִזְבֵּן, Gr. Ἰσαυ.

⁶ Obad. 8 f., 19, 21.

⁷ See the names of Arab tribes throughout Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*, and the lists given by Von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf* (Berlin, 1900), vol. ii., pp. 67 ff.

⁸ As in the personal name Obed-edom, i.e. "worshipper of Edom"; Stade, *Gesch.*, i. 121; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*, 43. Cf. the Egyptian evidence for this god in W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europa*, 315 f.

⁹ Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semit. Religionsgeschichte*, 10.

¹⁰ Sayce and others.

tion in Genesis xxv. 25 is well known ; and it only remains to be pointed out that in Sabaeen the word is applied to " subjects " or " clients " ; that in Assyrian the root means to " produce " or " make " ; and that the Hebrew word *soil* or *ground*, as if cultivable¹ appears to come from this. Several other place-names have the same radicals—a town on Jordan, a town in Naphtali, and one of the five cities destroyed at the south end of the Dead Sea.² The Assyrian form of Edom is U-du-mu,³ which is probably due to the process of assimilation of vowels observable in other transliterations of Palestinian names ;⁴ for the Massoretic vocalization is supported by the Greek Edom and Idumea.⁵ An Egyptian papyrus of the twelfth century reports that the " Sha-su [or Bedawee] tribes of A-du-ma have passed the border-fortress of at-Tuku (Succoth) to the ditches of Pitom (?), in order to pasture their cattle on the field of the Pharaoh." ⁶ Sē'ir apparently means " hairy," and, applied to a district, might imply its shrubby or wooded character. In the Old Testament we find it also both in Judah and Mount Ephraim ; ⁷ and, according to some, in the Tell-el-Amarna Letters.⁸ Rameses III. says that he defeated " the Sa-'a-ira of the Bedawee tribes." ⁹ The name

¹ Friedr. Delitzsch.

² Josh. iii. 16, xix. 36 ; Gen. x. 19 ; Hos. xi. 8, etc.

³ Delitzsch, *Paradies*, 295.

⁴ See the present writer's *Jerusalem*, i. 257.

⁵ The very occasional Greek form Ἀβδοδομ : LXX. of 1 Chron. xv. 24, Cod. S ; xvi. 38, Codd. B, S, A, is hardly ground enough for the opinion that Odom is the older pronunciation (W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.*, 316).

⁶ Pap. Anast. vi. 4, 14 ; W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.*, 135 ; but see Winckler, *Gesch. Isr.*, i. 189, where it is suggested that A-du-ma may be the town of that name given in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, ed. Winckler, No. 237 l. 24, " in the land of Gar." We shall return later to this.

⁷ Mount Sē'ir, Josh. xv. 10, and Has-sē'irah, Judg. iii. 26.

⁸ Winckler's ed., No. 181, l. 26 : matât Shi-iri ; see Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vi. 251 ; Winckler, *K.A.T.*, 3rd ed., 201.

⁹ Papyrus Harris ; see W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.*, 135 ff. ; Nöldeke in the *Enc. Bibl.*, 1182.

'Esau is still more difficult. Something can be said for the traditional explanation of hairy (therefore synonymous with Sē'ir).¹ The Phœnician mythical figure of Usoos, a hunter, has long been compared with 'Esau, and the latter accordingly interpreted as that of a god or semi-divine being.² W. M. Müller finds the feminine form in 'A-si-ti, a desert goddess, pictured by the Egyptians as a wild rider.³

The Hebrew tradition represents Jacob or Israel, and Esau or Edom, as the twin-sons of Isaac and Rebekah, in the Negeb, which is translated *the South* in our Authorized and Revised Versions because of its geographical relation to Palestine, but literally *the Parched or Dry*; ⁴ not because it is absolutely waterless, for it is exposed to the rains of the Mediterranean basin, its wâdies are swept in winter by heavy torrents,⁵ and there are more or less frequent wells; but because of its geological formation, which causes the speedier disappearance of the surface waters, renders the possible fertility much more precarious than in Palestine, and produces many stretches of absolute desert. While settlements for agriculture and even towns have at times existed here, the inhabitants have been compelled for the most part to frequent wanderings among the wâdies. When therefore it is said that Isaac *dwelt* or *settled* in the Negeb, we must not understand this of dwelling on one

¹ Gen. xxv. 25. With עשׂו the Arabic 'athâ or 'athîa has been compared, but the phonetic relation is doubtful. The personal name in Arabic is 'Isû. The Targum of Jonathan derives 'Esau from עשׂה, *to make*, as if ready made, i.e. born with hair, teeth, etc. It does not seem a possible contraction for עשׂיה as if עשׂיו (cf. Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscr.*, 362).

² Philo Byblius, in *Euseb. Pr. Ev.*, i. 10, 10; W. R. Smith, *Rel. of the Semites*, 448.

³ W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.*, 316 f., where there is also reported on a monument by Memphis the form 'â-sî-ti-y-kha-u-ru: as if 'Asithi of Hôr (?). It does not seem possible to compare the Palmyrene goddess 'Athi or the god Ethaos (Baethgen, *Beiträge z. Sem. Relig. Gesch.*, 71).

⁴ הַנֶּגֶב, cf. the Aram. verb nagab, "to dry up." In Egypt. ngbu: W. M. Müller, *As. u. Europ.*, 148. The LXX. occasionally translate 'H "Eρημος.

⁵ Ps. cxxvi. 4.

site in a house of stone.¹ The Hebrew verb *yashab* is also used of tent-dwelling ;² and Isaac is represented as a tent-dweller and a nomad through the Negeb.³ But the family, like some of the otherwise nomadic tribes of the district at the present day, had already taken to agriculture,⁴ either at their own hands or by slaves, or by employing settled fellâhîn to do the work for them. In other words, they had advanced from the purely nomadic stage to some of the steps of semi-nomadism through which all the Semitic peoples now settled in Palestine have passed.⁵ But this degree of attachment to the soil did not prevent the family, any more than it prevents the semi-fellâhîn of the present day,⁶ from migrating as a whole to distant and more favourable soils.

From this border-land and stage of transition the traditions describe the twin-brethren and their families as passing in opposite directions. 'Esau himself became *a cunning hunter, a man of the field*, here to be taken in its sense of the uncultivated and roughest soil, so that as by *flowers of the field* and *beasts of the field* the Old Testament means *wild flowers* and *wild beasts*, we must translate *wild man* and understand a reversion, such as has happened since with other tribes, to a less civilized form of society than the pastoral with an occasional use of agriculture. In opposition to this, Jacob is described as a *quiet* or *civilized man dwelling in tents*.⁷ The contrast is a social, not a moral

¹ As Professor Eerdmans has done ; see above, p. 122. ² Gen. xxv. 27.

³ Gen. xxiv. 67 (tent) ; he settles by the well Lahai-roi, xxv. 11 ; he sojourns in the land, xxvi. 3 ; settles in Gerar, *id.* l. 6 ; pitches his tent in the valley of Gerar and digs wells, 17 ff. ; removes thence and digs another well, 22 ; goes thence to Beersheba, 23. The word Bêth, or *house* (xxvii. 15), which Prof. Eerdmans also quotes, may mean *tent* just as well as *house of stone*.

⁴ Gen. xxvi. 12.

⁵ See above, pp. 259 ff.

⁶ Above, 263.

⁷ $\square\aleph$, literally complete, perfect ; here not in its frequent moral sense, but rather as finished, civilized ; cf. the New Hebr. meaning of *harmless*. The Eng. version *plain* and the Greek $\alpha\pi\lambda\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ are misleading.

one. The country south of the Negeb, now possessed by the wild tribe of the 'Azâzimch, is one in which the only means of livelihood are hunting, robbery and warfare. The first two lines of Isaac's blessing of 'Esau, who is represented as deprived of his birthright, his share of the father's heritage, are ambiguous. In a different order they wish for him in the same words with which Isaac has blessed Jacob; but *the abundance of corn and wine* prayed for in the latter case is not repeated in 'Esau's, and it is possible to translate them negatively. Perhaps the ambiguity is designed. In any case, 'Esau *is to live by the sword*, to serve his brother for a time, and then to break his yoke.¹

A still more clear indication of the difference of culture between the two families is given by another tradition.² Jacob, migrating towards the fertile land of Canaan with oxen, as well as camels, asses, flocks, and male and female slaves (that is already a step beyond the purely nomadic state) is met by 'Esau with four hundred men. His fear of his brother, that he will forthwith smite him; his appeasing him with a gift which he doubts will be sufficient; 'Esau's offer of protection and Jacob's refusal—all these reflect the relations between the fellâhîn or half-fellâhîn, as they grow in substance, increase in timidity towards the true Arabs of the desert, and offer them tribute or blackmail. Similar is the issue; 'Esau returns on his way to Sê'îr; Jacob journeys to Succoth and *builds him an house* (the verb here implies stone) *and makes booths for his cattle*—not yet a fully settled fellâh, for sometimes he encamps in tents, but *buying ground* of the settled inhabitants, and of course practising commerce, and offered inter-marriage with the dwellers in towns.³

When, some centuries afterwards, Israel came out of

¹ Gen. xxvii. 26–29; 39 f.

² Gen. xxxii f., JE.

³ Gen. xxxiv. 8 ff., 12 ff., 20 ff., P.

Egypt, they found that the descendants of 'Esau had already advanced to a settled stage of life. They were under a king, they had a land with vineyards, from which they had dispossessed the Ḥorites; and this land, it is clear from the record of Israel's journeys, was the fertile range of mountains east of the 'Arabah, between the south end of the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Aḳabah.¹ But there are indications that the territory of Edom at this time extended west of the 'Arabah as well, to the wild country south of the Negeb. Israel was already on the border of Edom when they dwelt there in Kadesh,² and the border subsequently assigned them west of the 'Arabah towards the desert of Sin was alongside Edom.³ The name Sē'ir appears to have been attached west as well as east of the 'Arabah;⁴ and the contest between the kings of Israel and Edom for the command of the trade routes between the Red Sea and Palestine also imply the claims of Edom to the land south of the Negeb.

Definite though the 'Arabah be as a border—it is a long, deep valley some 10 or 12 miles broad—between the two great ranges of mountain which run south from the Lebanons to the latitude of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah; we must not treat it as writers generally do,⁵ as a decisive frontier, and confine Edom to the range on the east of it. On the contrary, the geographical and historical unity of the ranges on both sides of the 'Arabah must be emphasized. Geographically, they share for the most part the same systems of drainage. The Wâdy el-Jeyb, the main water-bed of the 'Arabah, debouching northward into the Dead Sea, carries off by far the greatest amount of water from both ranges; southern portions of both drain towards the Gulf of 'Aḳabah; and though

¹ Num. xx. 14 ff. : JE; Deut. ii.

² Num. xx. 16.

³ Num. xxxiv. 3 : J.E. Cf. Josh. xv. 1.

⁴ Deut. i. 44.

⁵ On the contrary see especially Clay Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea*, 83 ff., and Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 22 ff.

each has also a further drainage system of its own, the Western range sending a few streams into the Mediterranean and the Eastern into the Arabian desert, these are but a very small proportion of the whole. Nor has the deep, broad 'Arabah ever formed a decisive historical frontier. In addition to the dominance of Edom on both sides of it, as stated above, there was the command of the two regions by their successors, the Nabateans. Under the Roman Empire *Palestina Tertia* included alike Areopolis, Rabathmoba and Petra to the east of the 'Arabah and Dead Sea, and Berosaba (Beersheba) and Elusa to the west.¹ Similarly in modern times. Sixty years ago Petra was under the Governor of Gaza,² and the same Bedawee tribes roam at different seasons of the year, or by different sections of themselves, over both sides of the 'Arabah; for example, the Haweytât, the Dhullam, the Ka'abneb.³ This historical unity is largely due to commercial reasons arising from the position of both regions between the Desert and the Red Sea on the East and the Mediterranean on the West. The great routes from Arabia and the Gulf of 'Akabah to Hebron and Gaza successively cross or are commanded by both the eastern and the western range.

It is, then, the whole of this territory which we propose to treat in the following articles. The definition of its somewhat uncertain borders must be left to the particular accounts of its separate districts. But meantime the two mountain ranges with the great valley between them, of which the territory consists, may be approximately measured as a square of 125 miles (200 kilometres) in either direction: east to west from the Arabian Desert to the Mediterranean coast between Gaza and El-'Arîsh, and north to south from about the latitude of Be'ersheba' to that of the head

¹ Reland, *Palaestina*, lib. i., cap. xxxiv.

² Robinson, *B.R.*, ii. 547.

³ Robinson, *B.R.*, ii. 554, etc., and the reports of many other travellers.

of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. Few territories of the size cover so wide a range of soils. In parts well watered and extremely fertile, and in others affording but a precarious agriculture, the most of it is desert and unproductive. No minerals are known beyond salt and a little copper. But its geographical position has given this territory a historical importance far beyond the degree of its native resources. Above all, it is a land of passage; not only carrying, at many periods, the routes of the main traffic between Egypt and Syria, as well as between Arabia or the Red Sea and the Levant, but by its very wildness affording to its inhabitants the opportunities of controlling and profiting from this traffic. To that we may add the military importance of being a difficult borderland between the Empire of Egypt and the powers in possession of south-western Asia; and also of having borne for several centuries the *limes* or frontier of the Roman Empire. Finally, the traditions which fixed Sinai in the peninsula between the Gulfs of 'Aḳabah and Suez, with the establishment there of "holy places" in affinity with those of Jerusalem, and the constitution of Mecca as the centre of Mohammedanism, with the prevalence of the latter over Syria, have drawn across the land of Edom the pilgrimages of two great religions—which, however, have but meagrely repaid its inhabitants for the loss of their trade through the opening of other ways to the farther East.¹ Thus, apart altogether from the relations of Edom and Israel, the natural features of this territory, its main routes and its principal settlements have been endowed from time to time by commerce, war and religion with a historical significance of a high order. Finally, in

¹ In particular, the opening of the Suez Canal has damaged the transit trade through the land of Edom; cf. the complaint reported by Musil, *Edom*, 1^{er} Teil, 38. It remains to be seen what further effects, for good or evil, the opening of the Mecca railway will have.

recent years the western division of the territory and its connexions with Egypt, the Sinaitic peninsula and southern Arabia have been invested with a new interest by certain theories of the existence upon it of independent Arab states, and of their alleged influence on the fortunes of Israel. These theories also we require to discuss.

The ancient authorities for the geography and history of the land need only to be recalled. Besides the scattered notices and lists of place-names in the Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian literatures, the manifold data of the Old Testament, the few data of Josephus, and the still fewer in the Talmud, we have the defective information of the Greek and Latin geographers, the account in the nineteenth Book of Diodorus of the campaign of Antigonos, the Antonine Itinerary, the Peutinger Table of the third Christian century, the *Notitia Dignitatum* of the fifth, the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome and the relevant fragments which have been preserved of the mosaic map in Mâdaba. The inscriptions can hardly be described as numerous: Nabatean and Greek and Latin, including a number of Roman milestones and some Christian texts. There are also a few coins.

From the sixth century to the beginning of the nineteenth we have the somewhat meagre itineraries of pilgrims from Egypt to Palestine and from Palestine to Sinai,¹ the data of the Moslem geographers and historians, and those of the earliest historians of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, especially in their accounts of the expeditions of Baldwin I and III to Wadi Mûsa and the Gulf of 'Akabah; of the

¹ Of whom Antoninus Placentinus, about 560; Bernard (ninth century); Thietmar, 1217; Sir John Mandeville, 1322, ch. vi. *Of the Desert between the Church of St. Catherine and Jerusalem*; the *Reisebuch der Familie Rieter* (fifteenth century); and Felix Fabri (1483), may be specially mentioned.

doings of the Crusaders of Kerak and Shobek, and of their campaigns with Saladin in that region.

The modern exploration of this territory began with Seetzen in 1806-7. He did not travel farther south than the end of the Dead Sea, round which he passed, but he collected from Arabs a large number of the place-names. In 1812 Burckhardt from the north passed down the entire extent of the eastern range, visiting Petra on the way. Irby, Mangles, Bankes and Legh followed in 1812, and penetrated as far as Petra and Jebel Harûn. In 1828 Laborde and Linant visited Petra from the south; in 1837 Schubert and Lord Lindsay travelled up the 'Arabah; and in 1838 Robinson crossed the Desert from 'Akabah to Hebron, and accomplished a rapid expedition from Hebron to Wadi Mûsa and back. In 1842 and once again Rowlands explored the Negeb and the desert to the south. The data of these and other travellers were compiled by Carl Ritter in the first scientific treatment of the whole territory.¹ In 1852 Dean Stanley travelled from 'Akabah to Petra, and thence across the desert and the Negeb to Hebron. Wilton's *Desert of the Negeb* appeared in 1863, Palmer's *The Desert of the Exodus* in 1871, and Clay Trumbull's *Kadesh Barnea* in 1884. Charles Doughty had completed his travels in the eastern range and about the Gulf of 'Akabah between 1876 and 1878, but their results were not published till 1888, in the first volume of his *Arabia Deserta*. Full and illuminating use was made of all these data by Dr. Frants Buhl in his monograph on the *Geschichte der Edomiter* (1893), which contains an adequate recognition of the unity of the territory, and in other ways lays down the bases of a scientific treatment of it. Since then, however, other information has become avail-

¹ *The Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula* (Edinburgh, 1846), translated by L. Gage, from Ritter's *Erkunde von Asien*.

able. In 1883 the scientific expedition of the Palestine Exploration Fund under Professor Hull passed up the 'Arabah to the Dead Sea, visiting on the way Wâdy Musa and other parts of the Eastern range; and their report was published by the Fund in 1888. There have been the journeys of Messrs. Hornstein (in 1895), and Gray Hill (1896),¹ of Sir Charles Wilson (1898),² of Messrs. Libbey and Hoskins in 1903,³ of Brünnow and Domaszewski (1897, etc.),⁴ and, above all, the labours, travels and exhaustive researches from 1896 to 1902 of Herr Alois Musil, whose rich results in topography, nomenclature and ethnology greatly exceed our previous information and who has triangulated the whole territory.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

THE FOUR PERPLEXING CHAPTERS.

(2 COR. X-XIII.)

WE have now⁵ to study the measures taken by St. Paul for dealing with the terrible problem of the Corinthians' unfaithfulness. He would be well aware of its full meaning. It bore not merely on his happiness but on his usefulness; if the scandal lived, that was at an end. And, besides, it threatened the continuance of anything which he could regard as Christianity at Corinth. We have already seen the plain proofs that Paul despatched a letter by Titus. One question of outstanding interest remains—whether or not chapters x.-xiii. of 2 Corinthians constitute (or belong to) that letter. Not without hesitation we shall answer yes; but we shall offer a few additional conjectures, one of which at least seems almost necessary if the identification is to be maintained.

Let us first take the evidence in favour of separating these chapters from the rest of the Epistle. (1) What first of all

¹ *P.E.F.Q.*, 1897-8.

² *P.E.F.Q.*, 1898, 307 ff.

³ *The Jordan Valley and Petra* (New York, 1905).

⁴ *Die Provincia Arabia* (Strassburg, 1904-6).

⁵ See articles in *EXPOSITOR* for July and September.

offers itself to one's notice is the extraordinary change of tone. We are back from "set fair" to "stormy." It has been conjectured that Paul has received fresh harassing tidings—nothing is said of that! It has been conjectured that Paul is turning to a hostile faction—nothing is said of that either! It has been argued that his mood has changed. Obviously it has, if x.-xiii. are really the end of i.-ix.; but is such a change fair? Is it tolerable? Tastes differ; and on details of moral judgment we must allow great men to take their own way, even when it is not ours. If we speak at all in such a case, we should express surprise rather than condemnation, especially if the person we are studying is an Apostle of Christ. Yet, when one has said all these things to oneself, one turns with irrepressible repugnance from a letter which sums up its message in the words, "I rejoice that in everything I am of good courage concerning you," and goes on to say, fifteen or twenty minutes later, "I fear lest, when I come, my God should humble me before you, and I should mourn for many of them that have sinned heretofore, and repented not of the uncleanness and fornication and lasciviousness which they committed." So ought no man to write, whether he be a private soldier in Christ's army or an apostle. It is *not* fair! Criticism may do for us here the immense service it has often done elsewhere, by freeing us from moral improbabilities, incredibilities, monstrosities.

(2) Not less noticeable than the beginning of the inserted passage is the close.¹ Perhaps it is even more notable. We had to argue above that no man *ought* to write as, upon the traditional view, St. Paul has written. We can now ask: Does any one endowed with wisdom cool down as St. Paul must be held to do at the last, if all chapter xiii. is of a piece? A brief quotation does no justice to the

¹ I.e. xiii. 10.

matter ; to feel the argument fully, one must read right through. Yet the verses, as they stand, are striking (" If I come again, I will not spare you "). " For this cause I write these things while absent, that I may not when present deal sharply, according to the authority which the Lord gave me for building up and not for casting down. *Finally, brethren, farewell. Be perfected ; be comforted ; be of the same mind ; live in peace ; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.*" So does no man write. The tragedy of King Lear, passing into an idyllic dance of peasants—such is the impression of the paragraph as it stands. It is an absolute *non sequitur*.

(3) The two arguments already given are arguments for dividing the Epistle ; they are not of necessity arguments for placing chapters x.-xiii. earlier than i.-ix. If we can conceive of things slipping back to their worst state again, we might place x.-xiii. later. But now we come to a consideration which at least makes strongly for the opposite sequence. In x.-xiii. Paul is fulminating against intruders, and seeking to dislodge them. In i.-ix., these ingenious gentlemen have apparently passed on, bag and baggage, to preach the gospel somewhere else,¹ and Paul has to do with a weak but penitent church.

We come next to considerations which are rather difficulties than helps to the theory that x.-xiii. is the intermediate letter.

(4) Let us take first the argument of Bousset. Titus made the acquaintance of the Corinthians, and started the business of collecting, when he carried the intermediate letter ; therefore x.-xiii. (see xii. 18) must look back upon the intermediate letter just as i.-ix. does ; i.e. they date from the same point in Paul's history. For we cannot duplicate and reduplicate the errands of Titus to Corinth.—Is that so cer-

¹ Or may we hope they had gone back to Palestine ?

tain ? In a period where our information is scrappy and casual ? It has been held (by Lightfoot, by Stanley, by Ramsay, perhaps by others) that Titus was among those who carried 1 Corinthians to its destination ; and, although these scholars deny, or ignore, the existence of the intermediate letter, not all their arguments are removed by postulating it. Why should Titus not have gone to Corinth with 1 Corinthians ? While Stephanas Fortunatus and Achaicus probably carried Paul's reply (i.e. carried 1 Cor.) home with them, yet, in view of so many anxious matters, Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 11, 12) felt the necessity of having representatives of his own at Corinth, without awaiting Timothy's rather uncertain arrival. Though Titus is not named, he may well have been of the company, and probably he showed himself the leading man. I am glad to find that Lightfoot¹ took the view which forces itself on my own mind, viz. that Titus was rising into prominence during all these transactions. He was winning his spurs at Corinth. Earlier, when Paul and the Judaizers fought over his body as a test case at Jerusalem, he may have been young, timid, passive—loyal to Paul, which was necessary, but not exactly a colleague or helper ; that was not necessary, and we have no hint of that. Paul gave Titus a singular though unwelcome testimonial when he chose him to bear the brunt of the darkest hour at Corinth. Titus must have done something meantime to justify that choice ; he did more by the way in which he executed his task. He was a man of growing power. The anonymous " brother " of the messages in 1 Corinthians xvi. (11, 12)—where we have direct evidence that *some* messengers went from Paul with the Epistle under orders to return to Paul—became the Apostle's right-hand man. Less important than Timothy then, he plainly comes to be of greater importance. Is there anything incredible in his being sent three

¹ *Biblical Essays.*

times to Corinth? or even in his carrying three letters? He was sent with two of them in unbroken sequence.

The above is a negative sort of reply, rebutting objections. But there are positive difficulties in the way of Bousset's construction. Was the dark hour at Corinth a time for raising money? May we not infer that the Corinthians, who had asked guidance on the point in their letter to Paul (1 Cor. xvi. 1), began "to lay by in store" as soon as 1 Corinthians reached them? And is it not a fair conjecture that it was *then* Titus "made a beginning" in them of "this grace"? Would it not be a poor compliment, to send Titus right back to Corinth in the service of the collection (2 Cor. viii. 6, 17, ix. 5), if he had been working at it till the very moment when he started for Macedonia? No, rather; he had other things to work at then; and the older task now revives. Finally, the visit when Titus took the severe letter "would have been just the time when Titus would have been most careful and the Corinthians most watchful; any appeal to that occasion would therefore carry no weight."¹

(5) Another difficulty suggested itself to my own mind, and consequently perhaps has made more impression upon me than it should. Chapter xii., on the stake in the flesh, seems to be a climax. It is the last and highest message in self-defence. Ought it not therefore to stand where it does, at the end? Also it is a peculiarly intimate self-revelation; ought it not to be given to friends rather than to rebels?

To the first suggestion one might reply that it forms a good apology for the existing order of chapters in 2 Corinthians, and that a happy accident, or wise stroke of providence, has given us this profound and closely connected body of Scriptures not perhaps as they were composed, but culminating at the noblest point. To the second suggestion: Paul had told Titus (vii. 14) that the Corinthians were loyal at

¹ Dr. Massie (on xii. 18).

heart ; and he gives full proof that he sincerely believes this when, for the benefit of the church at Corinth, even while it continues in a state of revolt, he makes this most moving and most marvellous unveiling of his inmost self.

(6) Again a difficulty has suggested itself to me, though I believe others have exploited it in the service of other constructions. When Paul wrote x.-xiii., he seems to have contemplated following up his letter by a speedy visit (xii. 14, 20, xiii. 1, 10). Is that compatible with his policy of turning his back upon the South, visiting many other churches, evangelizing Troas (ii. 12), etc. ? I do not know whether there will be any patience with the guess that *Paul when he wrote x.-xiii. meant to carry out his programme of crossing the sea to Corinth and paying the church two visits, but suddenly changed his mind and threw everything upon Titus.* This would certainly add point to the Corinthian accusation of fickleness. Paul's reply would be, The change was sudden, but it was by no means ill-considered. It was kind. It was right.

(7) Another objection might be taken to the passage regarding weighty letters and feeble personality (x. 10). Could that charge safely be dwelt upon by an authority who is exchanging personal influence for influence by letter or influence through a delegate ? The same guess which met the last difficulty would dispose of this one. When Paul wrote the words, he may have thought that a short time would see him at Corinth. At the moment of writing, sickness, not to mention pressure of work at Ephesus, may have made it impossible for him to start. And the rearrangement of his plans may have been a speedy and sudden afterthought.

On the whole then, with some hesitation, and with a tendency to rely upon the guess that Paul's plan changed after the letter x.-xiii. was written, I believe we may regard these chapters as the Intermediate Letter. It is far less

probable that x.-xiii. belong to the period just after i.-ix. To hold that, we must suppose that not only the trouble but the Judaizers returned, and gave a repeat performance *da capo*. We must also suppose that Paul was wrong in boasting to Titus of Corinthian loyalty (vii. 14), and doubly wrong in prattling of these matters to a less than half-reconciled church (*ibid.*). An odious theory, surely! Has it any probability at all?

There are two other conjectures I should like to mention. They are not difficulties in the way of the identification now under discussion. If they are helps, it is in a very small degree. (8) One has already been implied in the sketch of the Judaizers' calumnies. These men, who attacked Paul at every point, may have insinuated that he was not capable of such intellectual strain as would be involved in writing an Epistle *all his own*. This might explain the mysterious "Now I Paul myself" of x. 1, and it would lead us to agree with those who regard the fiery little letter as having been an autograph. (9) The four chapters seem to be a fragment. But is it certain that anything more than a fragment ever came into existence? The pen which the sick man had seized and plied to such purpose dropped from his hand again. He left everything else to Titus. He would not even come in person till he knew that matters were right once more in that dearly loved but infatuated church—right with him, right with God.

He sent Titus off with many warm assurances, bidding him journey on by the land route to intercept him somewhere with the good news. It must be good news; as God was faithful, the news would be good! And, so soon as his health enabled him—pricked on a little by that matter of the uproar ¹—he started on his journey northwards. But he had overestimated his own powers. The great heart

¹ Acts xix. 23, etc.

which had encouraged Titus reeled and swooned anew under the strain of waiting for tidings. "Hope deferred" made it "sick." It seemed to him that his letter had been unpar-donably harsh (vii. 8). There was work to be done for Christ at Troas; indeed, there was special promise. And it was hardly physically possible that Titus should have got there. No matter; Paul simply could not work; even the gospel must grant him a holiday just then. He had to find Titus, or—if by mischance he passed him *en route*—he must find the news which Titus had left with the churches. So he crossed into Macedonia; but things went no better; "without were fightings, within were fears"; till Titus came! Oh, thank God, thank God for the unspeakable gift of good tidings! The letter which Titus presently carries back with him to Corinth is not unworthy to stand side by side with x.-xiii. It is an afterbirth of the same pain, blending with comfort and joy. Together, the two letters constitute one of the most marvellous autobiographies of a human heart. When Titus has got the money matters in order, and when Paul is calmer, and other work is done, he will follow southwards—to a meeting with these erring but pardoned children; and then to Jerusalem and prison; and then to death. And then——

It is a most marvellous spiritual autobiography; and any weakness it reveals is such as makes us both understand better, and love better, the man in whom we see it. At the same time, we could not imagine the Lord Jesus writing such a production as 2 Corinthians. Great as St. Paul is, he is truly "great in a different way." Even as a man, perhaps, our Lord Jesus belonged to another type of our varied humanity from that of His great servant.

We would give much to possess a similar if different document from the life of Jesus, had it been His will, and the will of

God His Father, to give us such a thing. Probably we could not have had it in any shape. Not even His own hand could tear aside the veil of His heart to the extent to which St. Paul bares himself in 2 Corinthians xii. That true tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man, is sacred to God alone. None knoweth the Son, save the Father—the Father who is well pleased in Him. It is inevitable that Christians should strive to reconstruct the inner life of Jesus. Yet the veil hangs between us and Him, however suffused with light. Or the light itself is a veil. We cannot see into the recesses of His heart any more than mortal man can see God. None knoweth the Son save the Father.

Still, as we stand reverently by Him, there is not a little we are allowed to see or to hear out of that fulness of grace and truth. And it has its parallels with St. Paul, as well as its contrasts. St. Paul was caught up once into the third heaven, or beyond that into Paradise; when Jesus was baptized, heaven opened and descended into His breast; and there came a voice, "Thou art my beloved Son; in Thee I am well pleased." After the rapture came to Paul Satan's messenger buffeting him; after the baptism came to Jesus the temptation in the wilderness. In 2 Corinthians we have a picture, touch after touch, of heartbreak borne in the service and in the strength of Him who said, "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness." In Christ's life suffering deepens until He comes to Gethsemane and to Calvary. We are allowed to hear His words, "Oh, my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from Me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt." And again; "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?" If it moves our heart strangely to enter, in our faint fashion, into St. Paul's agony, what is it to us, and what ought it to be, when we see Christ Jesus *crucified for us?*

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

THE NOMADS AGAIN.

A REPLY TO PROFESSOR G. A. SMITH.

THE question whether the Hebrews were originally nomads was answered by me in the negative in the *EXPOSITOR* for August, 1908. Professor G. A. Smith published a reply to this article in the *EXPOSITOR* for September. He answered the question in the affirmative. His valuable remarks demand a reply. They bear testimony to his profound knowledge of present life in Palestine, but do not bring sufficient evidence for his thesis, as I will try to prove in the following pages.

I.

According to my opinion, the Israelites were semi-nomads (half-fellahin) before entering into Egypt and conquering Canaan. This is contradictory to the common opinion, which assumes that before that time they were pure nomads, without any knowledge of agriculture and settled life. This question is important for the date of the laws dealing with agriculture. I said that Old Testament scholars did not pay sufficient attention to certain texts in Genesis, and to the differences between the various kinds of population in Palestine and Northern Arabia. Professor Smith quotes several articles and books in order to prove the groundlessness of this charge against modern scholars. He says that my description of Oriental life might have been at once more accurate and more full, and holds that a wider view and a more detailed employment of the narratives in Genesis and the differences between the various kinds of population in Palestine leaves the nomadic origin of at least the main stocks of Israel indubitable. He also deduces several arguments from the Old Testament to prove that the Israelites once knew a purely nomadic stage of life.

Though the question whether I have been unjust to-

wards Old Testament scholars (in saying that they did not pay sufficient attention to certain texts in Genesis and to present Oriental life) is a subordinate one, I may be permitted to prove that my remark was not unjustified. I refer to J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*,³ p. 333; *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*,⁴ pp. 9, 15; H. Guthe, *Gesch. d. V.I.*, 1899, p. 8; B. Stade, *Die Entstehung d. V.I.*, 1899, pp. 13-14; W. Nowack, *Die Entstehung d. Isr. Religion*, 1895, p. 16; K. Budde, *Die Religion d. V.I.*, 1900, p. 9; C. Steuernagel, *Die Einwanderung der isr. Stämme*, 1901; K. Marti, *Die Religion des A.T.*, 1906, p. 13; R. Smend, *Lehrb. d. A.T. Religion*, 1893, p. 31; A. Jeremias, *Das A. T. im Lichte des a. Orients*,² p. 338; H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Geschichtsauffassung*, 1906, p. 16; H. Gunkel, *Genesis*, p. 275; Holzinger, *Genesis*, pp. 176, 180; Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten*, 1906, p. 305; W. E. Addis, *Hebrew Religion*, 1906, p. 78; E. Kautsch (in Hastings, extra vol., p. 644); McCurdy (ib., p. 87); Barnes in Hastings' *Diet. II.*, p. 507, etc.

Professor G. A. Smith admits (p. 266) that agriculture is frequently imputed to the patriarchs. Modern scholars, however, either overlook the texts referring to agricultural life, or they consider them to be of no historical importance, and explain them as reflex of the time of Judges (Kautsch, l.c.) or of the monarchical period. I hold the opinion that not a single text in Genesis refers to a pure nomadic life, and think that I am justified in saying that not *sufficient* attention to this question is paid, if even those scholars who speak about the patriarchs as semi-nomads maintain that the Israelites in the patriarchal period were pure nomads, without taking the trouble to explain why the features of agricultural life must be unhistorical. Professor Smith himself, who has made such excellent remarks about the influence of the good Syrian soil, holds the view that the

Israelites did not pass to the agricultural life before the conquest of Canaan. In his recent article he gives the grounds for this opinion, which I did not find in his *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. His arguments are as follows :—

At the present time pure nomads very often become semi-nomads and fellahin. The same thing will have happened in all ages.

The Kenites were friends of the Israelites. They are nomads and not originally settled people, as I tried to show.

The Israelites never forgot that they once were nomads, without agriculture and cattle. This follows from Deuteronomy xxxii., and the prophets, especially Hosea and Jeremiah.

The Israelites knew that they were of smaller stature than the inhabitants of Canaan. The Beduins are smaller than the people dwelling in villages up to this day.

The Israelites had a feeling against buildings, as is shown by so primitive a story as the Tower of Babel and by the oracles of Amos. They felt that a tent was the proper habitation of the God of Israel.

Early Israel did not have a conception of a future life. This is largely to be explained by the want of a permanent residence.

Even if my appreciation of the evidence of the narratives of Genesis were to be accepted, the question has still to be faced, whether these features are not reflections from a later period of Israel's history.

I intend to face this question after dealing with the arguments brought forward by Professor Smith in favour of a pure nomadic period in the history of Israel.

II.

I take it for granted that we have only to deal with the period from Terah till the conquest of Canaan. Of the

times before Terah we do not have the slightest knowledge, and the question whether the ancestors of Terah once may have been pure nomads lies merely in the realm of conjecture. Of Terah and Abram, however, we know that they lived in towns. Professor Smith thinks that the balance of probability is with the theory that the family of Abraham were not townspeople, but had never risen beyond, at the highest, the semi-nomadic stage. Reversions of fellahin to a semi-nomadic stage of culture are not impossible, but very infrequent. Professor Smith admits the possibility. I think it very strange that Terah and Abraham live in a town if the right interpretation of this tradition should be that they did *not* live in a town. There is no doubt that—Ur Kasdim and Haran were walled cities. The Babylonian inscriptions contain sufficient evidence that the names Ur and Haran belong to the oldest cities of the world. The town Haran is mentioned Genesis xxiv. 10, 13; xxvii. 43, so there can be no doubt that Israelitic tradition regarded Abraham and his family as “townspeople.” If it is true, as Professor Smith assumes, that there always have been migrations from Arabia into the fertile territories of Babylonia, the pre-Abrahamitic ancestors of Israel may have been pure nomads. I leave this question in the darkness of prehistoric ages, and confine myself to denying that Israelitic tradition has any knowledge about such a pure nomadic period.

It is obvious that Professor Smith’s argument, deduced from the passing of Beduins to settled life in the present time and during all ages does not prove that the ancestors of the Israelites did not pass to agricultural life before the conquest of Canaan. If it was a single feature in the narratives about the patriarchs, one could, perhaps, with Professor Smith, refer to different stages between the pure nomadic and the settled life, in order to prove that such a

feature is not contradictory to the reality of Oriental nomadic life. But it is not to a single feature in the narratives that I referred. All the narratives bear testimony to the agricultural character of the patriarchal life. Professor Smith has seen oxen with tribes otherwise purely nomadic. He admits that the cows and bullocks, which are sometimes found with such tribes, are mostly the booty of their recent raids, and he cannot affirm that they ever breed them (p. 261). I do not think that he will explain the cattle mentioned (Gen. xiii. 2, 5; xviii. 7; xxi. 27) as booty of raids. Genesis xxxiii. 13 shows that Jacob bred cattle. The travellers, who know the life of the pure Beduins by experience, tell us that the pure nomads do not breed cattle. It is even scarcely found in the oases of Northern Arabia (J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, 1896, p. 135). Euting found in the oasis El-Djof only four asses, ten head of cattle, and no horses. A. Musil says (*Ethnologischer Reisebericht Arabia Petraea*, iii. p. 291): "Only the fellahin keep cattle, and even they can only keep a few of them, for lack of water and pasture." Burckhardt (*Notes on the Beduins*, i. 22) reported about the tribe El Woussie, living near Damascus, that they cultivated rice and dourra and kept camels, sheep and cows. These people were half-fellahin, changing their abode every harvest. Musil assures us that sheep are chiefly bred by the fellahin (l.c., p. 284). So I do not think that I have been rash in concluding from the cattle of the patriarchs to a semi-nomadic stage of life.

In describing within a few lines the various kinds of population, I could not be complete, a complete picture of the different economic developments being almost impossible, as Professor Smith himself assures us on p. 259. But even if I had been able to write about this population such valuable remarks as Professor Smith gives in his recent article, I could only have drawn the same conclusion as I did. The

two principal kinds of population are the pure Beduins on this side and fellahin and various kinds of semi-nomads on the other side. "All people, fellahin, half-fellahin and Ma'aze, are dependent upon the pure Arabs, who breed camels. They are obliged to give them tribute, as long as they are not protected by a powerful and strong government" (Musil, *l.c.*, p. 23). The place of the ancestors of the Israeli-tic nation is evidently among the semi-nomads and not amongst the pure Beduins, as generally is supposed by modern scholars.

This conclusion is not shaken by what Professor Smith calls the strongest part of the case against my theory, by the remark that Israel never forgot that behind all the intermediate stages through which they passed before their establishment in the agriculture of Palestine there had been a purely nomadic stage of life. According to Professor Smith, this follows from Deuteronomy xxxii. 10-14, "He found him in a land of Midbar, in the howling waste of a desert, etc." (cf. p. 270). The constant tradition of the prophets is that Jahve is the God of Israel since the Exodus. It is evident that Deuteronomy xxxii. holds the same view. Verse 10 seq. refer to the sojourning of Israel in the desert after the Exodus, and I do not see that it brings evidence for a pure nomadic stage of life before the entering of the tribes into Egypt. It does not even prove such a stage of life for the period after the Exodus. It only proves that the Israelites were afraid of the desert, otherwise the author would not have called it "the howling waste of a desert." This aversion to desert life agrees with the narratives of the book of Exodus, which show that the Israelites were not used to this kind of life. They wanted the manna and longed for meat. It seems very improbable that the alleged shepherds of Gosen at once would have forgotten how to live on the products of the herds and flocks. We understand this if we

accept that the Israelitic tribes in Egypt were semi-nomads. We understand also that the offspring of these tribes looked back upon this period with horror and aversion.

Professor Smith finds the same tradition in the prophets, especially in Hosea and Jeremiah. For the prophets the relation between Jahve and Israel dates from the Exodus (Hos. xi. 1 ; cf. ii. 16 ; ix. 10 ; Jer. ii. 6 ; Micah vi. 4, etc.). If they refer to nomadic life, they refer to the period after the Exodus ; but, as far as I know, there is not a single text in the prophets bearing testimony to a period of pure nomadic life.

The next argument of Professor Smith is that the Israelites dreaded walled towns, and knew that their race was shorter and more meagre in figure than the inhabitants of Canaan. As a rule the Beduin is smaller when compared with the fellahin. The fear of the well-armed population of walled towns, however, is not limited to the pure nomads. It is quite natural that the semi-nomads, who very often suffer from the townspeople (cf. Gen. xxvi. 14 seq.), have the same respect for the soldiers of the small kingdoms as the Beduins have. The manner of life of the semi-nomads is more like that of the townspeople, but in their organization they are more like the Beduins. There is no autocratic government amongst them ; they do not have a king, and therefore they are inferior to the townspeople in military matters. The soldiers of the king are compelled to fight even if they should like to fly ; the badly organized semi-nomads and nomads fly if the situation is too dangerous. In the great battles between the Arabian tribes in the first years after the Hegira, the number of the killed warriors is very very small, for the whole horde of warriors used to fly if they saw that a few men were really killed. The Israelites understood at last that they could not do without a king, and after they obeyed the autocratic commandments of a king they were able to

face the Philistines. But they are regarded as semi-nomads by Professor Smith long before they took to this organization. Their fear for walled cities, therefore, has nothing to do with a pure nomad stage of life.

There are two traditions about the great stature of the Canaanites. According to the first tradition some of the Canaanites were of an extraordinary height of stature (Num. xiii. 28 ; Josh. xi. 21 ; xv. 14 ; Judges i. 20). The second tradition assumes that all the Canaanites were of great stature (Num. xiii. 33 ; Deut. i. 28 ; ix. 20). In Deuteronomy ii. 10 it is said that the Emim, the former inhabitants of Moab, were also of great height. It is probable that the first tradition is the best one. It is evident that the spies (Num. xiii. 33) exaggerate the number of tall men amongst the Canaanites, and Deuteronomy seems to emphasize the height of the enemy in order to glorify the help of Jahve. I would rather explain the difference in stature between those "Rephaim" (Giants, Deut. ii. 10) and the Israelites by difference of race than by the difference in stature between the nomads and the townspeople, as Professor Smith does. For we know from the Papyrus Anastasi I. (the so-called papyrus of the Mohar) that the height of some inhabitants of Palestine not only struck the Israelites, but also the Egyptians. "The height of many of those Asiatics is four ells from nose to heel ; they have wild eyes, their heart is unkind, and they do not listen to coaxing language" (cf. A. Erman, *Ägypten*, p. 511 ; W. M. Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 236). I do not think that anybody would conclude from this text the pure nomadic character of the Egyptians. The papyrus Anastasi I. proves that the supposed greater stature of the Canaanites cannot be explained by the meagre figure of the Beduins.

The Kenites were the friends of the Israelites. There exists no friendship between pure nomads and travelling

blacksmiths. The Kenites, the blacksmiths of the desert borders, were tent-dwellers. Professor Smith, therefore, identifies them with the nomads. This is contradictory to Old Testament tradition. Kain, the father of the Kenites, builds a *town*; 1 Samuel xv. 5 they live in the *towns* of the Amalekites. This fully agrees with the remark of Burckhardt (*Notes*, i. 65), "Most of the travelling blacksmiths are from the villages of Djof, which are wholly peopled by workmen, some of whom in spring disperse among the Beduins, and return in winter to their families." Even if they do not have a home in one of the oases, and are constantly moving, like the mysterious people of the Solubba (Sleib), there always remains a great difference between them and the pure nomads, who will never condescend to friendship or nearer relation with them. Everybody who has seen this despised people will agree that a connubium between these people and the nomads is beyond possibility. The connubium between the Kenites and the Israelites, therefore, is a strong proof against the theory of Professor Smith.

I do not think that the story of the Tower of Babel has anything to do with a feeling against buildings. It is a legend that explains the wonderful form of the Babylonian temple-towers (Zikkurat). There is not the least trace in this story of an objection to stone buildings and a predilection for tent-dwelling, nor do I find this predilection in the oracles of Amos, who is quoted by Professor Smith as a representative of the same feeling.

It is quite natural that until the days of Solomon the habitation of Jahve was a tent. The national worship of Jahve originated in the desert after the Exodus. The old form of sanctuaries is preserved during ages. Up to this day the Kaäba is every year covered by a new cloth, like a tent, though it is, even in the oldest period we know of, a

stone building. So it is not at all strange that people looked upon the building of a temple as upon a dangerous and revolutionary enterprise. The Israelitic tribes near the Sinai could only erect a tent as habitation of their God, so this tent does not prove anything for a pure nomadic stage of old Israelitic life.

Professor Smith explains the absence from early Israel of all conceptions of a future life largely by the want of a permanent residence. I do not think that this thesis is confirmed by the history of religions. Professor Smith does not say what he understands by the absence of all conception of a future life. The belief in a future life, as we know it, is not found in Israel before the post-exilic period, so it is not possible to make the settled life responsible for it, it being mainly due to Persian influence. But the belief in a future life of the soul (the *nefesh*) after death has been common to the Israelites of all ages, as it is found everywhere, even among savages of the most primitive kind. The burial customs of the Israelites prove that they have shared this belief, that is common to mankind. It is known to the Beduins as well as to the Assyrians and Canaanites. It is explained by the primitive animistic conception of men as consisting of body and soul, and is not related to any special stage of life.

So none of the arguments of Professor Smith seem to me to be satisfactory. I do not know which view Professor Smith holds about the historical background of the narratives of the patriarchs. If he assumes that they are the personification of Hebrew tribes living in Canaan before entering into Egypt, he is compelled to admit that these tribes were semi-nomads, for he himself has clearly shown that every tribe leaving the desert for the life on the fertile soil of Syria must be influenced by the changed conditions of life. If he assumes that these narratives are merely the

reflex from later ages, I hope he may be converted by the following remarks.

III.

The school of Wellhausen explains the narratives of Genesis as reflections from the monarchical period of Israel's history (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*,³ p. 331 seq.). The contents of the narratives is determined by the political and religious circumstances of this period. The supposed relations between Israel and its neighbours are the origin of the narratives about the wanderings of the patriarchs, the holy places of the monarchical period need sanctification by Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, worshipping Jahve there.

I would not deny that the monarchical period has been of some influence upon the Israelitic tradition. This period is mentioned Genesis xxxvi. 31; the predominant position of Jacob is known (Gen. xxvii. 29), and the numerous promises of Jahve to the patriarchs can only have been written in this time (Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 14 seq.; xv. 7, etc.). But I think that modern scholars are mistaken if they try to explain the whole of the contents of the narratives as reflections from a later period.

Wellhausen says, "The patriarchs only live at those places which were holy places in a later period. They erect their altars, and the worship of God is established by them in those places." The places the patriarchs live in are Sichem, a place between Beth-el and Ai, Mamre, Hebron, Beersheba, Mahanaim, Penuel, Succoth. Of these places only Beth-el and Beersheba are mentioned as holy places in the monarchical period. Sichem was selected as the place of Rehoboam's coronation. It was of so little importance that no Israelitic king was crowned there or lived there. Mamre, Hebron, Mahanaim, Penuel, Succoth are not mentioned in the literature of this period. On the contrary,

the holy places mentioned in this literature are not named in Genesis. Silo, Mišpa, Rama, Gibeon, Gilgal, Dan, Samaria do not appear in the narratives about the patriarchs. This shows that Wellhausen's conclusion is not justified.

The later origin of these narratives is further maintained on the ground of two instances from the Jacob-Esau and the Jacob-Laban narratives. These narratives are the reflections of the relations between the Edomites and the Israelites, and the Israelites and the Aramaeans in the monarchical period. It is very strange that in exposing the reflective character of the narratives of Genesis the greater part of the narratives is passed over. I should like to know which political circumstances of the monarchical period are reflected by the narratives about Joseph, or about Sodom and Gomorrah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob in Haran. The interpretation of these narratives, however, is left to our own imagination. We must believe that they are reflections on the authority of the two instances quoted above. If we examine these instances, however, we find that there is not a trace of agreement between them and the political circumstances of the monarchical period, and we are very much amazed that a theory that was built on so weak a ground has been accepted by numerous modern scholars. Wellhausen himself has felt that this theory does not cover the whole of the narratives. He says that the narratives are not merely a transcription of later circumstances. We may rather say that they are no transcription at all.

We examine, firstly, the Jacob-Esau narrative (Gen. xxvi., xxvii., xxxii., xxxiii.). The historical events are as follows : 2 Samuel viii. 13-15, cf. 1 Kings xi. 15-17; David beat 18,000 Edomites and put garrisons in Edom. During the reign of Solomon the Edomites regained independence (1 Kings ii. 25). The king of Edom was Jehosaphat's ally against Moab (2 Kings iii. 9). Edom made itself free from

Judean supremacy under Joram. Amasiah defeated the Edomites (2 Kings xiv. 7), but since that time the Edomites were independent of Judah and Israel. There always was a strong feeling in Edom against Israel. This is easily understood by the great cruelties of the Israelites. According to 1 Kings xi. 15, Joab killed every male in Edom.

Wellhausen assumes that these events are reflected in the Jacob-Esau narrative. There is no trace of war in these narratives. Esau is kind to his returning brother, and will not even accept Jacob's gifts. All Jacob does is to deceive his father in a perfectly peaceful way. There is no word about a hatred of Edom against Israel in Genesis xxxii., xxxiii.; there is no word of the cruelties of war in Genesis xxvi., xxvii. If these chapters are to be reflections of the political events, they may be at the same time reflections of all possible things.

The narrative about Jacob and Laban is by Wellhausen explained as follows: The migration of Jacob from Haran to Palestine means a migration of Hebrew tribes to Canaan. Laban is the personification of an Aramaean migration in the same direction. The story (Gen. xxxi.) and the events in Gilead are the reflex from the numerous wars between the Israelites and the Aramaeans. In Genesis xxxi. there is again not the least trace of war. Jacob and Laban ate and drank, they concluded an alliance. Laban returned to Haran, and Jacob went on to Palestine. The returning Laban represents for Wellhausen an Aramaean migration, and the friendly conversation between Jacob and Laban in Gilead is the reflex of the bitter wars between Israel and Aram. Wellhausen's theory demands us to believe that a migration is reflected by returning home and bitter wars by friendship and alliance!

E. Kautzsch (in Hastings, extra vol., p. 644) says that "the patriarchal narratives may be regarded as a faithful

picture of the conditions that prevailed during the earlier part of the period of the Judges. They still exhibit a mingling of the settled with the nomadic life, and even in the so-called Book of the Covenant the pasturing of flocks evidently still plays an important rôle along with the cultivation of the soil." Evidently Professor Kautzsch ascribes the pasturing of the flocks to nomads, and the cultivation of the soil to the people of settled life. If Professor Kautzsch means that the patriarchal narratives originated from the conditions prevailing under the Judges, I would draw attention to the fact that there is no relation between the contents of the Book of Judges and of the narratives in Genesis. In his *Essay on the Religion of Israel*, however, he does not give any further information about his theory, so I am not able to criticize his opinion in detail. We have only to read the book of Judges to understand that the theory of reflection has no better chance here than in the Books of Samuel and Kings.

If the features of settled life cannot be explained by the theory of Wellhausen, it only remains to acknowledge that there is not sufficient ground for the thesis that the Israelites once were pure nomads, at least not in the period from Terah till the conquest of Canaan, and I would remind my readers that the result of our ethnological interpretation of the narratives in Genesis is confirmed by the stele of Merenptah.

B. D. EERDMANS.

“HURT NOT THE OIL AND THE WINE.”

WHEN the third seal is opened, in the first series of punitive visions in the Apocalypse of John (vi. 5-6), a black horse is seen, whose rider holds a beam or pair of scales. *And I heard as it were a voice in the middle of the four living creatures, saying : A measure of wheat for a denarius, and three measures of barley for a denarius ; and injure not the oil and the wine.* Famine is metaphorically called *ἀλαρίς* and *αἰθροψ* by Pindar and Hesiod, which serves to explain the dismal, gloomy colour of Hunger's steed in this vision, though the four chargers of vi. 1-8 (white, red, black and pale) may be derived indirectly, like so much else in the Apocalypse, from the astrological fancies of the Babylonian mythology, where the various planets (here = Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn) had more or less equivalent colours assigned to them.¹ This, however, is a minor detail. Whatever may have been the quarry from which such conceptions were hewn, the prophet uses them freely for his own purposes, either unconscious of or indifferent to their original setting. In the present case, the main significance of the vision lies in the mysterious utterance addressed to the spectral figure of Hunger.

The first clause of the admonition offers no difficulty to the interpreter. It is a straightforward prediction of bad times, when provisions become excessively dear. A *χοῖνιξ* of wheat, the usual rations of a working man for one day, is to cost twelve times its usual price, and, whereas (cf. 2

¹ So Zimmern (cf. Schrader's *Keilinschriften u. Alten Test.*, 1903, 633), and Winckler (*Forschungen*, ii. 386 f.), with A. Jeremias (*Babylonisches im Neuen Test.*, 1905, pp. 24 f.). In an elaborate study (*Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft*, 1907, 290-316), M. W. Müller traces the four colours to phases of the sun as interpreted in popular folklore, while Mr. W. G. Collingwood (*Astrology in the Apocalypse*, 1886, pp. 58-59) includes lunar phases as well.

Kings vii. 18) a denarius, the labourer's daily pay (cf. Matt. xx. 2), could usually buy twenty-four measures of barley, the coarser grain,¹ it is now unable to command more than an eighth of this quantity. The bare necessities of life are thus enormously heightened in price, even if the computation be slightly lowered, to the proportions of a seventh and a fourth respectively. Wheat and barley are not to disappear entirely from the earth; otherwise, of course, there would be no famine. But food-stuffs are to be extremely scanty and therefore cruelly expensive. When grain is sold carefully by weight (Lev. xxvi. 26, Ezek. iv. 16), hard times are abroad.

The following clause is more enigmatic, alike in itself and in its connexion with what precedes. The introductory *καί* has an adversative force and the aorist of prohibition implies that no damage has yet been done. The Hunger-demon is not told to stop injuring the vines and olives. He is cautioned, at the outset of his dreadful mission, to avoid any such destruction. But the heart of the passage remains still to be reached. *Καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸν οἶνον μὴ ἀδικήσης*. What is the meaning of the last word? Usually it is taken in the sense of "hurt" or "injure," while "oil" and "wine" are supposed, by metonymy, to mean the olive and the vine. This seems obvious enough. But A. Bischoff, in Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1908, p. 172), proposes to take "oil" and "wine" in their strict sense, with *ἀδικεῖν* in the corresponding sense of "consume" (so *φθορά* in Col. ii. 22, 2

¹ "It may be inferred from a variety of passages, such as Ruth ii. 17, John vi. 9, 13, that barley was, even during the times when it was cultivated along with wheat, the staple food of the poorer class" (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, 484). During the last agonies of the siege, Josephus describes how the many inhabitants of Jerusalem "sold their possessions for one *χοῖνιξ* of wheat, if they were wealthy, and for one *χ.* of barley if they were poorer" (*Bell. Jud.*, v. 10, 2),

Pet. ii. 12). Rinck had already proposed to render it by “waste”; the commodities are too precious to be squandered. Yet ἀδικεῖν elsewhere in the Apocalypse (e.g. ii. 11, vii. 2, ix. 4) is used variously in the ordinary sense of “injure” or “hurt” (cf. Thuc. ii. 71, iv. 98), and the metonymy which it involves here is not so violent as to warrant a departure from this normal usage. Even in Joel i. 10 (ἐξηράνθη οἶνος, ὠλιγώθη ἔλαιον), οἶνος and ἔλαιον, as the context shows, refer primarily to the grapes and olive trees of the country; the fruit stands for the tree.

Taking the phrase, then, in its usually accepted sense, we proceed to determine its precise meaning in relation to the preceding clause. Here two rival interpretations have been suggested—for the allegorical view of *oil and wine* as an equivalent for Christians need not detain the modern investigator. So far as the actual words go, they may denote either (a) a mitigation, or (b) an aggravation of the famine.

(a) In the former case, it is a mark of the mercy with which God’s judgments are tempered, that the olives and vines are to be spared (so Alford). This is meant as a reminder (after Ps. xxiii. 5) of the care exercised by God over the righteous and faithful, whose wants are supplied while God’s judgments starve and crush the rest of men (so, e.g., Milligan). Or, we are invited to think of an invasion which stops short of the barbarity involved in a destruction of olive trees and vines within the Mediterranean world. “The loss of the harvest of wheat and barley means scarcity and high prices; but a new year brings new crops. The loss of olives and vines means lasting ruin, for new olive trees take about seventeen years to grow, new vines also need a good many years.”¹ The cruelty and scarcity of the invasion are held within bounds; no wanton destruction

¹ Sir W. M. Ramsay: *The Cities of St. Paul* (pp. 430-432).

of what constituted the basis of civilized life is to be permitted.

The objection to all such interpretations is that they drag in a feature which is irrelevant to the sweep and aim of this series of woes. The phenomena which occur at the opening of the six seals in chapter vi. denote the successive catastrophes immediately prior to *the great day of the Divine wrath*. These catastrophes are full of unrelieved and irremediable horror. They overtake the pagan world. God's people are left out of account. The only reference to Christians (in vi. 11) shows that the prophet expected nothing but martyrdom for them during this period of overwhelming disasters. Any alleviation of their lot is quite outside his horizon. He anticipates no favour for them on earth from man or from God. They are simply to be *killed*, like the martyrs who are impatiently calling out for the speedy execution of God's vengeance on the persecutors. John is not thinking of any invasion which sweeps over the East and passes away, leaving civilization to right itself after the tremendous shock. His visions of war, pestilence, and famine are unrelieved,¹ and they lead up to the final vision of the cosmic dissolution (vi. 12 f., viii. 1-5),² which overthrows mankind and the universe together.

When the words are taken as an aggravation (*b*) of the famine, the connexion of the two clauses becomes plain. In this case, the distress is heightened by the fact that oil

¹ This general tenor of the seal-visions also tells against the hypothesis that the mysterious voice addressed to the third figure fixes the maximum price for food and lays an "embargo on any attempt to destroy the liquid food of the people" (Swete). The voice does not forbid, it foretells famine prices.

² There is rather a curious coincidence between vi. 12 (*the full moon became as blood*) and the remark attributed to Domitian on the day before his death: *conversus ad proximos affirmavit, fore ut sequenti die luna se in aquario cruentaret factumque aliquod existeret, de quo loquerentur homines per terrarum orbem* (Suet. *Domit.* 16).

and wine, which are comparative luxuries or accessories of life, are left untouched by the famine, which rides roughshod over the land. Grain is to be dear, but the exasperating thing is that wine and oil remain as usual. Now even an Oriental can make a shift to live without wine and oil at a push; the poor have often to do so. But grain is the staple of existence. Consequently it is a sore time when the necessities of life are enormously heightened in price, whilst the luxuries are unaffected. "On this occasion, too, as is always the case in famines, those provisions lasted longest which are less suited to the ordinary needs of life. When the seed-corn was consumed, the common man might look bitterly at the olives and vines thriving in the rich man's plantation close to his own meagre crop of corn."¹ Such a perversion of things surely denoted the end of the world. Here were the vine and the olive rampant on earth; their plantations flourished. Yet the grain—the *Ceres casta*—was becoming more and more scanty. The fields of corn and barley could not produce their normal quantity. Such dearth and such abundance were a cruel mockery to luckless men.

Had there been no contrast between grain on the one hand and the oil and wine upon the other, the latter might have been taken generically as products of the earth. Thus in Jubil. xxiii. 17–18 their destruction² forms part of the final messianic punishment inflicted on the world for men's iniquities: *Behold the earth will be destroyed on account of all their works, and there shall be no more seed of the vine, and*

¹ Hausrath: *A History of the New Testament Times*, ii. 188–189. Hausrath, who had adopted the Neronian date of the Apocalypse, considered that the famine referred to was the one under Claudius. But he is right in arguing that the prophet has a reason for excepting the oil and the wine. "If the writer of the Apocalypse had been simply creating from his imagination, he would not have weakened his picture by such reservations."

² In Joel i. 10 f. oil and wine are grouped with corn and barley, and afterwards with figs, etc.

no oil, for their works are altogether faithless, and they shall all perish together. But in the Apocalypse, while oil and wine were not strictly speaking luxuries¹ for an inhabitant of Asia Minor, oil at any rate would be regarded by the ascetic prophet as at least superfluous, whether its culinary, medicinal (Luke x. 34), or toilet purposes were in his mind. Much more so with wine. It was intolerable that oil and wine should flow, while grain trickled thinly into the grasp of people in their extremity of hunger.

A further interest attaches to these words, however. They not only depict realistically the aggravation² of famine in the latter days, but they may be regarded as a water-mark of the Apocalypse's date and origin. This has been already done, in favour of the Neronian date, by those who find an allusion to John of Giscala. That doughty leader of revolt, during the siege of Jerusalem, seized the sacred oil and wine of the temple and distributed them to the starving population of the city (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* v. 13, 6). But this reference is extremely forced. A happier juxtaposition is to be found at a later date, not in Palestine but in Asia Minor.

In 92 A.D., or thereabouts (cf. *Chron. Pasch.* i. 466), the Emperor Domitian made a futile fiscal experiment. He attempted to place restrictions upon the cultivation of the vine, not only in Italy but in the provinces. According to one account, that of his biographer, Suetonius (*Domit.* 7), his object was to prevent the vine ousting cereals. *Ad summam quondam ubertatem vini, frumentii vero inopiam existimans nimio studio neglegi arva, edixit, ne quis in Italia novellaret, utque in provinciis vineta succiderentur, relicta*

¹ Yet a passage like that in Proverbs xxi. 17 is significant—*he that loveth pleasure shall be a poor man: he that loveth wine and oil shall not be rich.*

² This is the view of most recent editors, e.g. Farrar, B. Weiss, J. Weiss and Bousset (who has come over to this opinion since he published his first edition).

ubi plurimum dimidia parte ; nec exsequi rem perseveravit. The failure noted in the last four words is explained later on. Domitian, says Suetonius (*op. cit.* 14) with a characteristic note of disparagement, was scared by the political menace conveyed by the agitation of the "trade." He was in such nervous dread of assassination that any unpopularity suggested at once a source of personal danger. So much so, *ut edicti de excidendis vineis propositi gratiam facere non alia magis re compulsus credatur, quam quod sparsi libelli cum his versibus erant :*

Κἄν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὅμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω,
ὅσσον ἐπισπείσαι σοι, τράγε, θυομένῳφ.

The lampoon was a tag adopted from Evenus ; ¹ read καίσαρι for σοι τράγε, and it fitted admirably. Domitian might gnaw at the vines (cf. Vergil's *Georgics*, ii. 371 f.), but the vines would see him dead ! He would be sacrificed, not they !

Philostratus suggests a more plausible reason for the Emperor's tactical retreat. According to him, the Ionians rose in protest against an edict which interfered with the local vine-trade. Whether or not it was Apollonius who first incited them, as his biographer avers (*Vita Apoll.* vi. 42), the probability is that the commercial interests of Asia Minor soon made themselves felt and heard (*Vit. Sophist.* i. 21).² The townships dispatched the brilliant and eloquent Scopelianus to lay their case before the Emperor, who, after listening to his representations, handsomely withdrew the obnoxious embargo. Scopelianus

¹ Compare Ovid's loose rendering in *Fasti*, i. 357-358 :—

*Rode, caper, vitem : tamen hinc, cum stabis ad aram,
In tua quod spargi cornua possit, erit.*

² He makes the decree more sweeping : ἐδόκει τῷ βασιλεῖ μὴ εἶναι τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἀμπελούς, ἐπειδὴ ἐν ὀλῳ στασιάζειν ἐδοξαν, ἀλλ' ἐξηρῆσθαι μὲν τὰς ἡδὴ πεφυτευμένας, ἄλλας δὲ μὴ φυτεύειν ἔτι.

returned to Asia Minor in triumph, and no more was heard of any injury to the local cultivation of the vine.

Suetonius may be prejudiced in attributing the withdrawal of the obnoxious decree to personal fear on the part of the Emperor, and it seems rather far-fetched of Philostratus to suggest that Domitian wanted to strike a side-blow, by means of legislation, at the connexion between drink and seditious rioting. Temperance legislators are indeed apt to be misjudged. Perhaps Domitian was, like better men in recent days, a maligned statesman who did not get credit for his sincerity and public spirit in attempting to control vested interests. More likely, however, he was suspected of ulterior protectionist ends. His ostensible motives were not his real ones. The vine-growers of Ionia and the provinces may have seen nothing in his decree but another attempt to buttress the commercial interests of Italy at the expense of the provinces. And there was some ground for this criticism, since the Emperor merely prohibited the increase of vineyards within Italy itself, whereas the existing plantations in Asia Minor and elsewhere were to be reduced by half. These irate traders and planters did not or would not see, as the modern historian perceives, that such legislation was part and parcel of the agricultural policy and problem which the empire had inherited. For over a hundred years the decadence of agriculture in Italy, as opposed to the *cultus arborum*, had been deplored.¹ The superior attractions of military service had detached increasing numbers of able-bodied men from the land. The rush to the towns, for excitement and amusement, had also begun. As a result of this, imports of corn and wine from the provinces had become a necessity, and this had helped in its turn to swamp the home farmers. Finally those who still

¹ Cf. Mr. E. H. Oliver's essay on *Roman Economic Conditions* (Toronto, 1907), pp. 58 f.

worked on the land found that Columella was right (*de R. R.* III. iii. 3, 4) in advising vineyards as the most profitable line, and olive-yards¹ as the next, for all who tilled the soil. Cereals were thus handicapped on different sides, and the pressure of this problem was felt by the responsible authorities during the later days of the Republic. Even then Italy needed not only encouragement for her grain-growers but protectionist legislation for her vines and olives. In the transalpine provinces no one was allowed to plant vines or olives (Cicero, *de Rep.* iii. 9, 16; cf. Stéphane Gsell's *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien*, 1893, p. 153); in the case of the olives this regulation was no less imperative than in the case of the vines, for grazing threatened to supersede the cultivation of the olive as a paying concern, and the Italian olive-planters required to have the market artificially restricted in order to encourage them to persevere with olive trees instead of letting their lands pass into pasture.

Thus, on the one hand, cereals were being generally neglected in favour of vines and olives; while, on the other hand, in Italy itself, even vines and olives required to be protected against the free trade of the provinces. Domitian's intervention, in one aspect, might commend itself to the agriculturist and the moralist. Statius, writing in 95 A.D. (*Silv.* iv. 3, 11-12), naturally praises him for it:—

*Qui castæ cereri diu negata
Reddit iugera, sobriasque terras.*

But the vine-growers of Asia Minor were up in arms against the interference of this imperial protectionist with their local trade. They organized their opposition, and they carried the day.

The question is whether we may not find, in this at-

¹ Olives were easier to cultivate than vines (Verg., *Georgics*, ii. 420 f.).

tempted injury to the wine-trade of Ionia, a background for the allusion *Hurt not the wine* in the Apocalypse which the prophet John addressed, during the last years of Domitian, to Christians resident in that very district. Seven years ago this was proposed in an ingenious study by Solomon Reinach,¹ and his suggestion has been accepted by Harnack (*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1902, 591-592), Bousset, J. Weiss, and (independently ?) Dr. E. A. Abbott (*Notes on New Testament Criticism*, 1907, p. 89), amongst others,² although Wellhausen (*Analyse der Offenbarung Johannis*, 1907, p. 10 note) incidentally demurs.³ The suggestion is extremely attractive. But it must not be pressed too far. The ascetic author of the Apocalypse, it may be conjectured, would have been entirely in sympathy with any such attempt to restrict luxury as Domitian may have ostensibly essayed. But he is not thinking of Domitian at all. He is not reproducing an incident which was fresh in the minds of his hearers. The point of the saying does lie in the recent events which had stirred Smyrna and other cities in Asia Minor ; but John simply uses the public edict of Domitian as an apposite point for his delineation of the imminent last horrors. It provides him with a bit of colour for his palette as he paints the hues of coming doom. Hunger, he foretells, is to overrun the land. But you Asiatics need have no fears for your vineyards and olives, he grimly adds ! There will be no Domitian to hurt them.

¹ "Sur la mévente des vins sous le haut-empire romain" (*Revue Archéologique*, 1901, 356-380), cf. his *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions* (Paris, 1906) ii. 356-380. But honour to whom honour is due. Farrar, in his *Early Days of Christianity* (ch. xxviii.) had already noted Domitian's edict in this connexion, though he failed to draw the further inference.

² Cf. J. M. S. Baljon : *de Openbaring van Johannes* (Utrecht, 1908), pp. 82-83, and Professor F. C. Porter's *Messages of the Apocalyptic Writers* (1905), p. 190.

³ So does Schürer (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1906, 258), on the ground that oil is included. See below.

Comfort yourselves on that point ! Only, it will be small enough comfort to have your superfluous luxuries spared and your grain reduced almost to starvation point ! The very plenty of the former will only irritate the miserable conditions of your lot !

In this light there is a characteristic note of bitter, deep irony ¹ visible in the prophet's words. A hint about the destruction of the wines was enough to recall to Asiatics a recent, local cause for panic, and John seizes on the allusion to lend vividness and realistic point to his predictions of the local anguish which was to herald the world's final tragedy.

Why he adds the allusion to oil is not so clear, for we have no evidence that any similar legislation was contemplated against olive-groves. The touch is probably one of his artistic embodiments, introduced in order to fill out the grim sketch.² Vines and olives, as we have already seen, were closely connected in economic problems.³ But, in any case, the reference to the vines, when interpreted in view of Domitian's futile edict, forms one of the minor details which corroborate the proof, based on other and irrefragable grounds, of the Domitianic date of the Apocalypse, just as it serves to show that the seals-vision is not an earlier source which was adopted and adapted by the final editor.

JAMES MOFFATT.

¹ Dr. Sanday, like Reinach, takes a slightly different view (*Journal of Theological Studies*, viii. 489). The withdrawal of the edict, which let the production of wine and oil go on unchecked, was looked upon by the Apocalypticist "as a calamity which only pandered to drunkenness and immorality."

² It is no era of peace, far from that. Yet the olive, "the darling of Peace," as Virgil calls it, thrives, so awry and mocking are the times.

³ "The impetus given to the cultivation of the olive coincides with the greater development of vine-culture, and with the first phase of the decadence of cereals in Italy" (E. H. Oliver, *op. cit.*, p. 117). The olive was sometimes used, also, to support the vine.

LEXICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.¹

X.

IN our previous papers we have endeavoured to present with some fullness the Hellenistic vernacular record of words used in the New Testament. The mere fact that in the four papers we have not yet finished *a* will show that on this scale we could not hope to complete the alphabet under some years in the columns of the EXPOSITOR. What has appeared will serve very well as a specimen, on which we may ask for the assistance of criticism, in view of our collecting the whole material in book form. For the rest of the year we propose to adopt a different line. We propose to cover, if we can, the rest of the alphabet, presenting only words which need special treatment, or words that gain some special light from their use in the vernacular documents. We shall, moreover, bring our material into direct relation with the New Testament, instead of leaving the student to apply the illustrative matter for himself. This is a duty we shall have to attend to when we come to the final stage; but it has been subordinated hitherto in order to gain space, and present as large a specimen as we could of the mass of newly available illustration.

ἀγωνίζομαι we have already passed (see *Notes* iv.); but *Syll.* 214¹⁰ (c. 267 B.C.) is worth returning to. In this Athenian inscription we read ἐπειδὴ πρότερον μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι οἱ ἐκατέρων φίλιν καὶ συμμαχίαν κοινὴν ποιησάμενοι πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἡγωνίσαντο μετ' ἀλλήλων πρὸς τοὺς καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιχειροῦντας. The phrase hardly differs from that in 2 Tim. iv. 7; and it makes it decidedly less

¹ For abbreviations see the February and March EXPOSITOR, pp. 170, 262.

clear that the figure there is drawn from the games. In *Syll.* 213 *l.c.* (*Notes* iv.) the verb is used of warfare, as in this inscription, which is contemporary with it.

ἀπάγω has likewise been passed, but we might add the suggestion on its record that in Acts xii. 19 no more than *imprisoned* need be meant: the weight of authority, however, seems to discourage this.

ἀρχαῖος.—That this word retains in general the sense of *original*, as distinguished from παλαιός=*old*, is seen commonly in the papyri as in the New Testament. Acts xxi. 16, where Mnason is described as “an *original* disciple,” one who belongs to the “beginning of the gospel” (Phil. iv. 15), is illustrated by *Magn.* 215*b*, a contemporary inscription, where an ἀρχαῖος μύστης inscribes an ἀρχαῖος χρησμός: the “ancient initiate” is opposed to the neophyte, the “ancient oracle” to one just uttered. (The citation is made by Thieme, p. 26.) For the more general sense of “ancient,” recurrent in Matt. v. 21, etc., we may compare the ii/A.D. horoscope FP 139⁶, where a date is given κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχέους, i.e. “old style.” The neuter=“original condition” may be seen in *OGIS* 672^{6ff.} (80 A.D.), where a river is dredged, etc., καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀπεκατεστάθη: similarly in 2 Cor. v. 17, the “original conditions” pass away before the fiat that καινὰ ποιεῖ πάντα (Rev. xxi. 5). A standing title of the city Heracleopolis, ἁ. καὶ θεόφιλος, reminds us of “ancient and religious foundations” at Oxford or Cambridge to-day.

ἀρχή.—The double meaning, answering to ἄρχειν and ἄρχεσθαι severally, can be freely paralleled. The great difficulty of John viii. 25 makes it desirable to quote OP 472¹⁷ (ii/A.D.) τὸ μὴδ' ἀρχὴν γενόμενον, “which never existed at all”; but the absence of the article, and the fact that we cannot quote other examples of this once familiar usage, makes the quotation of little weight for confirming the R.V. margin here, though it is probably right.

ἀρχηγός.—To determine between *founder* and *leader* in Heb. ii. 10, xii. 2, Acts iii. 15, v. 31, is too complex a question for this note. Our few citations go to emphasize the closeness of correspondence with *auctor*, which it evidently translates in a proconsul's edict, *Syll.* 316⁸ ἐγγεγόνει ἅ. τῆς ὅλης συγχύς εως,¹⁷ τὸν γεγονότα ἅ. τῶν πραχθέντων. So OP 41⁵ etc. (iii/iv. A.D.), where a crowd shouts repeatedly ἀρχηγὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, "source of our blessings," *auctor bonorum*. The phrase is found five centuries earlier in the Rosetta Stone (*OGIS* 90⁴⁷) . . . anniversaries which are πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἅ. πασιν. In *OGIS* 212¹⁸ Apollo is ἅ. τοῦ γένους of Seleucus Nicator (306–280 B.C.) whose mother was said to have dreamed that she conceived by Apollo : so in 219²⁶ of his son Antiochus I (Soter).

ἀρχισυνάγωγος.—The word is used for *Greek* assemblies : see *Archiv* ii. 430. An interesting inscription from Akmonia in Phrygia is given by Sir W. M. Ramsay, *C. and B.* ii. 649 f., who comments on the fact that this title of dignity and influence could be held by women ("probably purely honorary").

ἀρχιτέκτων.—Our *architect* is much narrower than its original, which in papyri (TbP 286¹⁹—ii/A.D.) can represent "chief engineer." The R.V. is of course shown to be right by the context in 1 Cor. iii. 10. It is worth while to remember that τέκτων in its turn is wider than "carpenter."

ἄρχων.—The official uses of ἄ. are fully classified by Dittenberger in the indices to his *Sylloge* and *OGIS*. In the newly published BM III., p. 183⁵⁷ (113 A.D.) we find the Jewish use for the first time : ἀρχόντων Ἰουδαίων προσευχῆς Θηβαίων—an important passage which one of us has examined in *Expos. Times*, xix. 41.

ἀσέλγεια.—An obscure and badly spelt document of iv/v A.D., BU 1024^{v.17}, seems to contain this noun in the form ἀθελγία : we mention it only to note how early the

popular etymology was current connecting it with θέλω. It is dubious at best, and the history of the word is really unknown.

ἀσθένημα.—This rare word occurs in BU 903¹⁵ (ii/A.D.) ἀφ' ὧν τοὺς πλείστους ἐξ ἀσθενήματος ἀνακεχωρηκέναι: it differs little if at all from ἀσθένεια.

ἀστεῖος.—As early as HbP 54^{15ff.} (iii/B.C.) we find this word developed: ἱματισμὸν ὡς ἀστεϊότατον the edd. render “as fine clothes as possible.” Its connexion with the “city” was forgotten, and indeed ἀστυ itself had fallen out of ordinary use.

ἀστοχέω.—In the N.T. confined to the Pastorals, but quotable from papyri of ii/B.C. and later, including the ill-spelt BU 531^{ii.19} (ii/A.D.), where the meaning seems to be “fail” or “forget.” This it retains in modern Greek: so the Klepht ballad in Abbott's *Songs*, p. 34—

Μὴν ἀστοχᾶς τὴν ὁρμηεῖα, τῆς γυναικὸς τὰ λόγια,

“forget not thy wife's advice, forget not her words.” In Par P 35²⁶ (ii/B.C.) ἀστοχήσαντες τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος, we have a close parallel to 1 Tim. i. 6.

ἀσύνθετος.—To other citations for the meaning *faithless* appearing in the derivative verb may be added three from Ptolemaic papyri for εὐσυνθετέω, *to keep faith*.

ἀσφάλεια is extremely common, as are the cognates. Luke i. 4 is illustrated by its use in the legal sense, *security*: thus AP 78¹⁶ (ii/A.D.) ἀ. γραπτὴν, “written security,” TbP 293¹⁹ (do.) τὰς παρατεθείσας ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἀ. “the *proofs* submitted by him.” Personal *safety*, as in 1 Thess. v. 3, is the meaning in a great many inscriptions, where it keeps company with ἀσυλία, ἀτέλεια, and the like privileges.

ἀσχημονέω.—TbP 44¹⁷ (114 B.C.), a petition concerning a violent assault, in which the aggressor ἕως [μέν τ]ινος

ἐλοιδ[όρησέν με] καὶ ἀσχημο[νεῖ *] ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιπηδήσας ἔδωκεν πληγὰς πλείους ἢ εἶχεν ῥάβδωι. Here foul language at least is suggested. In the famous Mysteries inscription from Andania (*Syll.* 653⁴—91 B.C.) the candidate has to swear μήτε αὐτὸς μηθὲν ἄσχημον μηδὲ ἄδικον ποιήσῃν ἐπὶ καταλύσει τῶν μυστηρίων μήτε ἄλλωι ἐπιτρέψῃν: in this case anything irreverent or improper would be included. Perhaps *behave dishonourably* is the meaning in 1 Cor. vii. 36, but the word seems to take the colour of its context.

ἀτακτέω.—To the extended note in *Thess.* pp. 152 ff. may be added an early citation from the newly published EP 2¹³ (285/4 B.C.) ἡ πρᾶξις ἔστω ἐκ τοῦ ἀτακτοῦντος καὶ μὴ ποιοῦντος κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα—it means *contumacious*.

ἄτοπος.—See *Notes* ii. 109 and *Thess.* p. 110.

αὐθεντέω.—Grimm's description of this as "a bibl. and eccl. word" prompts the remark that the adjective αὐθεντικός is very well established in the vernacular. "Biblical"—which in this case means that the verb occurs *once* in the New Testament—seems intended to hint what ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in a "profane" writer would not convey: we may refer to Nägeli, p. 49, for evidence which encourages us to find the verb's *provenance* in the popular vocabulary—the Atticist warns his pupil to use αὐτοδικεῖν because αὐθεντεῖν was vulgar (κοινότερον). As the meaning in 1 Tim. ii. 12 is not quite easy, we may add that αὐθέντης (earlier αὐτο-έντης, from the root of ἀνύτω, Latin *sons*, our *sin*) is properly "one who acts on his own authority," hence in this context an autocrat.

αὐλή.—BM I. p. 36 (ii/B.C.) has a complaint against marauders who had not only sacked a house, but appropriated to their own uses τὴν προσοῦσαν αὐλήν καὶ τὸν τῆς

* Query ἀσχημόνει, an unaugmented imperfect: the present is rather oddly sandwiched between two aorists, unless we are to call in the help of parallels noted *Proleg.* p. 121.

οἰκίας τόπον ψιλόν. This will serve as a good specimen of the normal use in the papyri, where the word is extremely common, denoting the *court* attached to a house. So far as we have observed, there is nothing in the *Κοινή* to support the contention that in the New Testament αὐλή ever means the house itself: see Meyer on Matt. xxvi. 3. Like the Latin *aula* and our own *court*, it is frequent in the inscriptions to denote a Royal *entourage*, e.g. *OGIS* 735⁴ (ii/B.C.) τῶν περὶ αὐλήν δια[δόχων], referring to certain officials attached to the court of Ptolemy Philometor.

αὐστηρός.—The epithet of Luke xix. 21 is poorly rendered by the word we have borrowed. It obviously means *strict*, *exacting*, a man who expects to get blood out of a stone. This sense is well seen in an interesting letter of ii/A.D., TbP 315, in which the writer warns his friend, who was evidently connected with the temple finance, to see that his books were in good order, in view of the visit of a government inspector, ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος λείαν ἐστὶν αὐστηρός, “a regular martinet.” In the curious rhetorical exercise (?), OP 471 (ii/A.D.), we find ⁹³ τί οὖν ὁ κατηφής σὺ καὶ ὑπεραύστηρος οὐκ ἐκώλυες; “Why then did not you with your modesty and extreme austerity stop him?” (G. and H.). Here (as the context shows) a rigorous Puritanism is sarcastically attributed to a high Roman official, whose scandalous relations with a favourite ill became a *vir gravis*: this is nearer to the English *austere*. Four centuries earlier it describes “rough” country, *OGIS* 168⁵⁷.

αὐτάρκεια, αὐτάρκης.—We have several quotations, but only in the simple sense of *enough*: OP 729¹⁰ (137 A.D.) τὴν αὐταρκίαν κόπρον (l. κόπρου) περιστερῶν, the “necessary amount” of guano; BM III. p. 104⁶ (42 A.D.) τὰ αὐτάρκη καύματα for a bath-house, etc. The fact lends some emphasis to St. Paul’s use of the words in the philosophic sense of *self-sufficiency*, *content*: for all his essentially popular

vocabulary, on which Nägeli rightly lays stress, he could use the technical words of thinkers in their own way. (Cf. Nägeli's summing up, pp. 41 f.).

ἄφθαρτος.—As an antithesis to "mortal," the term is well seen in *Syll.* 365¹⁰ (c. 37 A.D.) θεῶν δὲ χάριτες τούτῳ διαφέρουσιν ἀνθρωπίνων διαδοχῶν, ὃ ἢ νυκτὸς ἥλιος καὶ (for ἦ) τὸ ἄφθαρτον θνητῆς φύσεως.

ἀφιλάγαθος is said by Grimm to be "found only in 2 Tim. iii. 3." In OP 33 (ii/A.D.) the rebel Appianus taunts Marcus Aurelius with ἀφιλοκαγαθία (presumably short for ἀφιλοκαλοκαγαθία), after extolling his father Antoninus as φιλάγαθος and ἀφιλάργυρος (2 Tim. l.c. and Heb. xiii. 5).

ἄφιξις.—One early citation may be made, from PP II. p. 43⁶ (iii/B.C.), where it certainly means *arrival*: so also in Aristeas 173 and *Magn.* 17¹¹, and as late as iv/A.D. in LpP 64^{35, 47}. But Josephus, *Ant.* II. 18 fin., μὴ προδηλώσαντες τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἐκεῖσε ἄφικιν—not included among Grimm's citations—can hardly mean anything but *departure*. See *Proleg.* 26 n.

ἀφορμή.—See *Notes* i. p. 279. This Pauline word is well established in the vernacular, with meanings varying from *incitement* or *prompting* (OP 237^{vii.21}, ii/A.D.: ἐκ μητρὸς ἀφορμῆς) to the more ordinary *occasion* or *opportunity*. In BU 615¹⁶ (ii/A.D.) ἀφορμὴν εὐρών—a son "finds an opportunity" to write to his father—we have a phrase resembling that of Rom. vii. 8.

ἄχυρον.—Two citations may be made for this exceedingly common word. One shows that "bricks without straw" were as abnormal in the Ptolemaic period as in the days of the Exodus: PP II. p. 50¹² (as amended III. p. 139) shows directions ἐς τὰ ἄχυρα πρὸς τὴν πλιυθολκίαν. The practice exemplified typically in the Ptolemaic ostrakon, *Ostr.* 1168—λό(γος) ἀχύρου, an account for fuel εἰς τὰς καμείνους—reminds us that (Egyptian brickmaking apart) feeding the

fire was the *normal use* of the "chaff." The stern theology of earlier days might have glossed the Baptist's words with Prov. xvi. 4.

βατον.—We mention this Egyptian word only because it makes yet another deduction from the fast vanishing list of "bibl. and eccles." words in Grimm: i/ and ii/A.D. citations from entirely "profane" papyri undeniably point back to higher antiquity.

βάλλω.—One or two of the uses of the simplex might be referred to. That the verb does not necessarily imply *casting* or *thrusting* with some degree of violence is clear already from the N.T. itself; and there are vernacular parallels to negative the assumption of "Jewish Greek." Thus in BU 597⁴ (75 A.D.) *ἵνα βάληι τὸν μόσχον πρὸ τῶν προβάτων* does not suggest a violent "flinging" of the helpless calf before the ferocious beasts afterwards named. BM III. p. 182⁴⁶ (113 A.D.) *αἱ πλείω βληθεῖσαι* [? sc. ὕδατος χορηγίαι] *βαλανείου Σευηριανοῦ* will illustrate Matt. ix. 17 and other places where β. is used for liquids.

βαπτίζω.—As late as iv/A.D. (BM I. p. 67, a magic papyrus) the word is still used literally, of a "submerged" boat. For ceremonial ablution—as Luke xi. 38 and the new Gospel-fragment, OP 840¹⁵, *μήτε μὴν τῶν μαθητῶν σου τοὺς πόδας βαπτισθέντων*—we may compare BM I. p. 98 (iii/A.D., magical), *λουσάμενος καὶ βαπτισάμενος*. Our earliest quotation is from Witk. 64 (Par P 47¹³, c. 153 B.C.), a very illiterate letter which is hard to translate; *βαπτιζόμεθα*, however, must clearly mean "flooded" or overwhelmed with calamities. That the word was already in use in this metaphorical sense, even among uneducated people, strikingly illustrates our Lord's speaking of His Passion as a "baptism."

βασίλεια.—Mayser (p. 255) quotes three passages—one of them, however, very questionable—in which β. = *diadem*.

Since *kingship* or *sovereignty* in the abstract is necessarily the root meaning of the word, it is easy to see how the passage into the concrete could either be on the lines of our *dominion* (cf. "our Sovereign and his dominions"), or follow the outward and visible sign of royalty. There are many places in the New Testament where an abstract meaning is assumed, and of these some might gain in force by substituting "a sign of royalty" for "royalty" in the abstract—one might compare the line taken by the Revisers with ἐξουσία in 1 Cor. xi. 10. But it may be doubted whether the change can be made very plausible in any place.

βασιλικός is exceedingly common, but we may note PP III. p. 65⁶ πορευομένου ἐπὶ τῆς β. ὁδοῦ as coeval with the almost identical phrase of the LXX in Num. xx. 17.

βαστάζω.—Citations multiply for the meaning *pilfer*, as in John xii. 6, especially in papyri of ii./A.D. We need not add to what was said in *Notes* ii. and iii., except to supplement the interpretation given (iii. 426) of Matt. iii. 11. In view of Harnack's theory of the superior originality of the language in Matthew as compared with Luke, it is worth while to note how "to remove his sandals" expresses the same sense as "to stoop down and unfasten the sandals," with much greater brevity. Another example of the same economy will be the ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱόν of Matt. xi. 27 against Luke's γινώσκει τίς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός (x. 22), which even Harnack's opinion (*Sayings*, p. 20) will not persuade us to regard as anything but assuredly original: the compound verb, on the principles established by Dean Robinson in his masterly excursus on the word,* exactly expresses the τίς ἐστὶν by its particularizing force.

βαττολογέω.—In D this word is βλαττολογέω, the form

* *Ephesians*, pp. 248 ff. [I may confess that further consideration has made me a more whole-hearted convert to the Dean's view than when I wrote the note in my *Prol.* p. 113.—J. H. M.]

of which suggests an approximation towards the Latin *blatero*—[query cf. provincial English *blether*, with same meaning, both starting from **mlatero*]. The Latin text (*d*) has not the word, so that if Latin influence is recognizable here it must lie somewhere in the complex history of the Bezan text itself. *Βαττολογέω* may be by haplology for *βατταλο-λογέω*, in which some connexion may be suspected with *Βάτταλος* on the one side, the nickname of Demosthenes, and Aramaic *battâl* (“leer, nichtig,” says Wellhausen on Matt. vi. 7) on the other. Whether Greek or Aramaic, or neither, is the borrower, we must not stay to ask. If the great orator was thus nicknamed because of the torrent of words at his command, which made envious rivals call him “the gabbler,” it will fit his case better than the highly improbable “stammering” connexion, and will suit *πολυλογία* here. (See Holden on Plutarch’s *Demosthenes*, ch. iv.)

βιάζομαι.—The verb is common, and its compounds *ἀπο.* and *εἰς.* can be quoted; but there seems little that gives decisive help for the difficult Logion of Matt. xi. 12 = Luke xvi. 16. Its use in the Lucan passage is indeed quite clear, as Grimm’s quotations will show. Deissmann (*BS* 258) shows that in Matt. the suggested “come forward violently” can be supported from *Syll.* 633⁸. Essentially the same use appears in Demosthenes *in Calliclem* 17 (p. 1276): *κὰν βιάσῃται ποτε, ἀποφράττειν ἅπαντες καὶ παροικοδομεῖν εἰώθαμεν*, “when it [the flood water] forces its way”; also note *Syll.* 893⁵ (i/B.C.) *εἴ τις παρὰ τὴν βούλησιν Πυθίδος βιασάμενος ἀνοίξῃ τὴν καμάραν*. The ordinary passive use, for which all the ancient versions plead, is supported by papyrus and inscriptional evidence which we must present another time.

βιβλίον.—This is very much the commonest form in the family. There does not seem to be any diminutive sense

attaching to it : this is supplied by *βυβλάριον* (Lille P 77, iii/B.C.) and *βιβλίδιον* (GH 61¹⁹, ii/A.D., *al.*). Naturally, the bulk of our citations refer to state papers of various kinds, or petitions sent in to a public official. The distinction between *book* and *paper* easily vanishes when it is only a question of a single roll of greater or smaller length : the *βιβλίον ἀποστασίου* (see *Notes* vii.) is a document comparable with the petitions. Nägeli (p. 19) well draws attention to the connotation of sacredness and veneration which always attaches to *βίβλος* in its rare occurrences. He quotes Lucian and two papyri, one (Par P 19¹, 138 A.D.) referring to “old, wise, that is Chaldaean books,” the other (OP 470²⁴, iii/A.D.), where a mathematician cites a book of Hermes. In the New Testament *βίβλος* is either Scripture, or the Book of Life, or (in Acts xix. 19) magical writings regarded as highly potent, or again (in the first words of Matt.) a royal pedigree record. It may be added that *βίβλος* can still mean the papyrus plant, as TbP 308⁷. BU 544⁴ (*βίβλινος*), both ii/A.D.

βλέπω.—The physical sense which still remains primary in this word as distinguished from *ὁράω* (cognate with our *ware*) is well seen in Par P 44⁶ (ii/B.C., =Witk. 58), *βλέπω Μ. κατατρέχοντά με*, which comes after *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐνύπνια ὁρῶ πονηρά*. So OP 39⁹ (52 A.D.) *ὀλίγον βλέπων* = *shortsighted*. Closely parallel with phraseology in Gospel healings of the blind is one of the cases from the Asclepieum, *Syll.* 802⁷⁷ (iii/B.C., Epidaurus) : the blind man sleeping in the temple saw a vision (*ὄψις*) of the god opening his eyelids and pouring in a *φάρμακον*—when day broke *βλέπων ἀμφοῖν ἐξῆλθε*. For *β.* virtually = *εὐρίσκω*, as in Rom. vii. 23 (cf. 21), see FP 111¹⁶ (i/A.D.) *ὥς ἐὰν βλέπῃς τὴν τιμὴν παντὸς ἀγόρασον*, “however you find the price, be sure to buy” (G. and H.). Finally note BU 1079²⁴ (41 A.D.), *βλέπε σατόν* (i.e. *σαντόν*) *ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, which is a rather neat con-

futation of those who would detect "Hebraism" in Mark viii. 15 and the like. The passage is perhaps the earliest mention of "the Jews" as moneylenders.

βοήθεια.—Both noun and verb occur perpetually in the formulae which close petitions. It may be worth while to remind English readers that Nestle has recently (*ZNTW* viii. 76) shown *βοηθεῖν* in Acts xxvii. 17 to be a technical term of nautical language; he quotes (with a wrong reference by the way) Philo vol. iv. (Cohn) p. 57 (=Mangey ii. 46) ὥσπερ γὰρ κυβερνήτης ταῖς τῶν πνευμάτων μεταβολαῖς συµμεταβάλλει τὰς πρὸς εὐπλοίαν βοηθείας.

βραβεύω.—The "applied and general sense" which Field (*Notes* 196) finds in this word is confirmed by Par P 63⁷⁰ (ii/B.C.) λόγῳ τινὶ ταῦτα βραβευθῆναι, "that these things are administered reasonably." So in a Magnesian inscription (also ii/B.C.), *Syll.* 929³² τῷ μὲν ἀκριβεῖ τῆς ψήφου βραβευθῆναι τὴν κρίσιν οὐκ ἡβουλόμεθα, where the lawcourt and not the stadium is the scene of action. We may endorse accordingly in Col. iii. 15 Lightfoot's insistence on the element of *award* or *decision* in a conflict between contending impulses; but we question the assumption that the Games supply the figure.

βυθίζω.—The figurative use in 1 Tim. vi. 9 may be illustrated by *Syll.* 324⁷ (i/B.C.) συνεχέσι πολέμοις καταβυθισθεῖ[σαν τὴν πόλιν.

βύσσινος.—The manufacture of this famous material (τὰ β., with or without ὀθόνια) seems to have been a Government monopoly in Egypt, and it was carried on under the direction of the priests in the temples, which were hives of industry as well as of devotion. The output of these early ecclesiastics ranged from lawn to beer, as we see respectively from EP 27^{a.11 ff.} (iii/B.C.) with the editors' note, and BM III. p. 182⁵¹ (113 A.D.). See Wilcken *Ostr.* i. 266 ff. for the linen monopoly.

γενέσια.—The sense is always *birthday feast*: thus FP 114²⁰ (100 A.D.), fish to be sent *τῇ κδ εἰ* (l. ἦ) *κε εἰς τὰ γ. Γεμέλλης*, for which other dainties are ordered in 119³⁰. The next letter, a year later, says that pigs are going to be sacrificed on the birthday feast of Sabinus, Gemella's brother (?). The similar word *γενέθλια* in OP 112⁴ (iii/iv A.D.) denotes the birthday festival of a god (Sarapis ?): cf. BU 149¹⁵.

γίνομαι.—One or two scattered notes may be allowed for this verb. Its most original meaning, *to be born* (John viii. 58, Gal. iv. 4 *al.*), may be illustrated by *Syll.* 802⁶ (iii/B.C.—see above) *κόρον ἔτεκε, ὃς εὐθύς γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τᾶς κρίνας ἐλοῦτο*—this precocious cleanliness is nothing very astonishing among the egregious wonders of the Asclepieum. *Γέγονεν* standing by itself as the answer to a question (“What can you say as to . . . ?”) in Str P 22 (iii/A.D.) looks at first rather like that which occurs in Rev. xvi. 17, xxi. 6, but the resemblance is superficial. For *γ.* with dative as in Rom. vii. 3, cf. PP II. p. 136⁷ *τοῦ γινομένου σοι γλεύκους*, *Ostr.* 1530 (120 B.C.) *ἀπέχω παρὰ σοῦ τὸ γινόμενόν μοι*, “money due to me.” With Acts xxii. 17, 2 Cor. iii. 7, etc., we may compare PP II. p. 63¹², *συνέβη ἐν ἐπισχέσει γενέσθαι*, and TbP 423¹³ (iii/A.D.), *εἰς ἀγωνίαν με γενέσθαι*.

γλωσσόκομον.—See *Notes* iii., to which add TbP 414²¹ (ii/A.D.); in BU 824⁹ (i/A.D.) the older *γλωσσοκομίον* (*sic*) is found. This out-of-the-way-looking word is seen to be decidedly vernacular, and quite in place in St. John.

γνήσιος.—In the earliest known Greek papyrus, EP 1³ (311/10 B.C.), a marriage contract begins *Λαμβάνει Ἡρακλείδης Δημητρίαν Κώϊαν γυναῖκα γνησίαν*, “as his lawful wedded wife.” BU 86 shows it as epithet of *φίλος*. *Syll.* 365¹³ (37 A.D.). *οὐχ ὥς εἰς φίλην μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς εἰς γνησίαν πατρίδα*. In TbP 326¹¹ (266 A.D.) *προστήσασθαι*

γνησίως τοῦ παιδίου, "will honourably protect the child" (G. and H.), we have a good parallel to Phil. ii. 20.

γράμμα.—For the πηλικοίς γ. of Gal. vi. 11, cf. HbP 29⁹ (c. 265 B.C.), where a notice is to be put on a board *μεγάλοις γράμμασιν*. But a much better illustration may be seen in the Rainer Papyrus 215, where two of the signatures are in a markedly larger hand than the rest: see the facsimile in *Führer durch die Ausstellung*, Tafel 9. In view of John vii. 15 it must be remarked that there are hundreds of papyri where someone states that he writes on behalf of the person concerned, who is illiterate; this is most often *γράμματα μὴ εἰδότος* (*εἰδυίης*), but also frequently *ἀγραμμάτου ὄντος* (*οὔσης*). This occurs even in an inscription, *Syll.* 844⁶, of the time of the Empire, *κελεύουσιν ὑπὲρ α[ὐτὰν] γράψαι, ἐπεὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτὰ γράμματα μὴ εἶδέναι*. The exceeding commonness of this phraseology, which never means anything than inability to write, forces us to recognize it in John vii. 15 and Acts iv. 13. With the biting scorn of the superior person, these learned fools affect to regard Jesus and His disciples as "illiterates."

γυμνός.—See *Notes* iii. But the inference drawn there from the fact that γ. describes one who has been stripped of his *ἱμάτιον*, or outer garment, is somewhat discounted by FP 12²⁰ (c. 103 B.C.). Here the complainant reports a similar robbery of a *ἱμάτιον*, which he ultimately got back from the pawnbroker for 2700 drachmae of copper (=45 silver dr., say 33s.). The thieves went off with it, *ἐξέντες γυμνόν*. He meanwhile got away *μετ' ἐνδύματος* supplied by his friends (*γνώριμοι*), which at least implies that he could not have done without the *ἔνδυμα*. (Note the substitution of this more general word, that used of the Wedding Garment in the parable, where also it is a *ἱμάτιον*.) It may be noted that both our citations illustrate Luke's form of the Logion (vi. 29), in which the assailant snatches the

outer garment; the climax in Matt. v. 40 gets a little emphasis from the high price which our papyrus shows a *ἱμάτιον* could fetch. But we are not deterred by Harnack from pleading out of these documents for the originality of Luke, whose version obviously describes a common form of robbery. The Matthaean form may possibly be assimilated to the O.T. language about taking a man's garment as a pledge.

δαιμόνιον.—*Syll.* 924¹⁴ (210/05 B.C.) τὰς εἰς τὸ δ. εὐσεβείας, and similarly 279¹⁵ (c. 193 B.C.) τῆς συναντωμένης ἡμεῖν εὐμενίας διὰ ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ δ. (following τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας, and succeeded by τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰς τὸ θεῖον πρόνοιαν) are witnesses to the growing sense in later Hellas of the unity of the Divine. Paul's solitary τὸ θεῖον in Acts xvii. 29 is the only N.T. passage which recalls this impersonal conception. The magic papyrus BM I. p. 69¹²⁰ (iv/A.D.) has εἰσάκουσόν μου καὶ ἀπόστρεψον τὸ δαιμόνιον τοῦτο, and later (p. 70¹⁶⁴) ὑπόταξόν μοι πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια ἵνα μοι ᾗν ὑπήκοος πᾶς δαίμων οὐράνιος καὶ αἰθήριος καὶ ἐπίγειος καὶ χερσαῖος καὶ ἔνυδρος. That a magic document by a writer who knows Judaism, perhaps even Christianity, should use δ. of an evil spirit is, of course, not strange.

δεκάτη.—An odd inversion of the Jewish conception of tithes comes in TbP 307⁶ (208 A.D.), where the edd. regard *δεκάτη μόσχων* as "a tax levied upon the priests of γ^{10} of the profits obtained by them from calves offered for sacrifice at the temple."

δέρρις.—This Bezan word (Mark i. 6), found in LXX, occurs in *Syll.* 653³⁵ (91 B.C.—the Mysteries inscr. from Andania), where see note.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

A FOURTH-CENTURY LYCAONIAN BISHOP.¹

IN June of this year I had the good fortune to find a long Greek inscription at Laodiceia Combusta, whose history offers a curious parallel to that of the famous Avircius Marcellus epitaph discovered by Professor Ramsay at Hieropolis in 1883, and which proves, like that epitaph, to be a document of first-rate interest to students of Imperial and early Christian history.

It is the epitaph of a Bishop of Laodiceia, whose life-story, as told by himself on the outside of his sarcophagus, reflects vividly the politico-religious situation at the end of the third and beginning of the fourth century, and gives us new and important information on the history of that period. Like the Avircius Marcellus epitaph, this inscription was known already in a strangely garbled version, whose grotesque inaccuracy and whose attribution to the wrong Laodiceia—Laodiceia ad Lycum—raised difficulties which tested the sagacity of critics and historians.

Few Greek inscriptions have had such a romantic history as this epitaph. When Lequien was compiling his lists of Bishops in the eighteenth century, J. Jebb, a Cambridge editor of Aelius Aristides, sent him an inscription mentioning "a bishop Eugenius, who became bishop (of Laodiceia ad

¹ The decision to put the text of this inscription into the hands of scholars as soon as possible, has made it necessary to relegate the greater part of the commentary to a future paper. Every word of the Epitaph rewards minute study; but only a few points are touched on in this paper. I have been privileged to discuss each point as it arose with Sir W. M. Ramsay, and every page bears the stamp of these discussions. I take this opportunity of thanking him.

Lycum) after the close of the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian, and remained in office twenty-five years." In the interval between the publication of the first and second parts of volume i. of Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, a student of the Ecole Française d'Athènes, M. Laurent, rediscovered the text of the inscription referred to by Lequien in Marini's collection in the Vatican Library. He sent the inscription to Professor Ramsay, who published it, with restorations and a commentary, in *Cities and Bishoprics*, part ii. p. 543. How the inscription came into Jebb's hands, and whether or not the collector Marini owed the text ultimately to Jebb, or even preserved the same text as Jebb, can only be matter of conjecture. It may have been written down from memory by some traveller in the East—the list of assertions strung together by *καί* has no counterpart in the original, suggesting that the copy was not made in presence of the sarcophagus—or it may be an actual transcription of the original epitaph by some half-educated Greek. Marini's text is perhaps unique in the history of epigraphic transcription, and deserves quotation as such; we quote it here, however, in order that the reader may form his own judgment at the outset on the value of its evidence on the one or two doubtful points in the new text. The inscription is printed here as it stands in the *Cities and Bishoprics*; Professor Ramsay's restorations and comments are borne out in a remarkable manner by the true text.

Εὐγένιος [father's name ἐνθάδε κεκοίμηται? ὁ γήμας τὴν?
 θυγατέρα Ἰουλίου Νεστοριανοῦ Φλαυιανὴν [τὴν ἀρίστην (or name)
 χρόνον δὲ βραχὴν(!) διατρίψας ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων πόλει . . .
 καὶ βουλῇσει τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος κατασταθείς,
 καὶ εἴκοσι πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσιν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν [διοικήσας?
 καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνοικοδομήσας ἀπὸ θεμελίων
 καὶ πάντα τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν κόσμον στοῶν καὶ προστοῶν
 καὶ ζωγραφιῶν καὶ βεντήσεων σκευαρίου καὶ προπύλων
 καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς λιθοξόοις ἔργοις καὶ πασῶν ἀπαξ απλῶς καταστάσεων.

Alongside of Marini's copy we shall set the true text of the epitaph :

- M. Ιουλ. Εὐ[γέν]ιος Κυρίλλου Κέλeros Κο[υ]ησέως βουλ.[?]
στρατευσ[ά]μενος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Πισιδίαν ἡγεμονικῇ τάξει
καὶ γήμα[ς] θυγατέρα [Γ]αίου Νεστοριανοῦ συγκλητικῷ
Γα. Ιουλ. Φ[λ]αουιανῇ καὶ μετ' ἐπιτεμίας στρατευσάμενον (sic)
5. ἐν δὲ τῷ [μ]εταξὺ χρόνῳ κελεύσεως φ[ο]ιτησάσης ἐπὶ Μαξιμίνου
τοὺς Χρ[ε]ιστιανοὺς θύειν καὶ μὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τῆς
στρατεί[ας] πλείστας δὲ ὅσας βασάνους ὑπομείνας
ἐπὶ Διογένους ἡγεμόνος σπουδάσας τε ἀπάλλαγῆναι
τῆς στρατ[ε]ίας τὴν τῶν Χρειστιανῶν πίστιν φυλάσσων
10. χ[ρ]όνον τ[ε] βραχὺν διατρεύσας ἐν τῇ Λαοδικέων πόλει
καὶ βουλῇ[σ]ει τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ ἐπίσκοπος
κατασταθ[ε]ίς καὶ εἴκοσι πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσιν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν
μετὰ πολ[λ]ῆς ἐπιτεμίας διοι[κ]ήσας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
ἀνοικοδο[μ]ήσας ἀπὸ θεμελίων καὶ συνπάντα τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν
15. κόσμον [τ]οῦτ' ἐστὶν στοῶν τε καὶ τετραστόνων καὶ
ζωογραφιῶ[ν] καὶ κεντήσεων κὲ ὑδρείου καὶ προπύλου καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
λιθοξοικοῖς ἔργοις καὶ π[άντ]ας ἀπλῶ (sic) κατασκευά[σας] λιψόμε-
νός τε τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων
βίον ἐποίησα ἑμαυτῷ πέ[λ]τα τ[ε] καὶ σορὸν ἐν ᾧ τὰ προ[γεγραμ-
μένα] ταῦτα ἐποίησα ἐπιγρ(ά)φιν ἐ-
μὸν τῆς τε ἐκ[δοχῆς] τοῦ γένους μου.

“ I, M. Julius Eugenius, son of Cyrillus Celer of Kouessos, a member of the Senate, served in the detachment under command of the governor of Pisidia, married Gaia Julia Flaviana, daughter of Gaius Nestorianus, a Roman senator, and served with distinction, and in the meantime, when an edict went forth in the time of Maximinus commanding that Christians should offer sacrifice and not be allowed to quit the service, I suffered innumerable tortures under Diogenes, governor (of Pisidia), and, maintaining the Christian Faith, I strove to leave the service, and after spending a short time in the city of Laodiceia I was made Bishop by the will of Almighty God, and administered the episcopate for twenty-five years with great distinction, rebuilding the whole

church from its foundations, and constructing all its adornment, that is, its porticos and quadruple-porticos and paintings and screens of carved wood-work and fountain and outer gateway, along with all the mason-work, and, in a word, everything; and when about to leave the life of this world, I made myself a monument and a sarcophagus on which I had the above engraved, on (this my tomb) and the tomb of the successors of my race."

The epitaph is engraved on the front of a large marble sarcophagus, half-buried in a field immediately south of the graveyard of Ladik, the modern Turkish village on the site of Laodiceia Combusta. The sarcophagus is broken in two pieces; the fracture runs from top to bottom of the inscription after the eighth or ninth letter of each line (except the last three lines, which extend further both to right and to left than the others, and which are traversed by the fracture at the fourth word in each case). In the last three lines, at this point, three or four letters are missing, owing to the loss of a piece of marble from the edge of the fracture. Further to the right there is a gap in the second and third last lines, causing the loss of ten or eleven, and nine or ten letters respectively. The seven or eight lines at the top, to the right of the fracture, have suffered a good deal from weathering, but practically every letter has been recovered. The only serious difficulty of transcription is the name of the bishop: there is also a slight doubt concerning the form of the second last word in the first line. Both these difficulties might be settled finally by further examination of the sarcophagus under a more favourable light. Ladik lies not far from Serai Ini station on the line to Konia, and is easily visited.

II. TEXT AND TRANSCRIPTION.

The text given here is based on two separate epigraphic

copies, made in June and July, and two impressions of the weathered portion of the inscription; the letters on the buried part of the sarcophagus were found to be quite distinct, and required no impression. The epigraphic copies agree in most particulars; where they differ, the second is to be preferred to the first, for it was made in a better light, and three weeks' study of the first copy had suggested improvements in the text, which were confirmed by further examination of the marble.

As to the name of the Bishop, when I copied this epitaph I was not aware of the existence of the earlier copy. To the left of the fracture my first copy has *MIOT*[]*ET*, my second copy suggests Φ —tentatively—as the missing letter. I feel no doubt that the missing letter is *A*, and that we must read *M. Ιούλ(ιος) Εὐ* . . . Both *Ιου.* and *Ιούλ.* are used as abbreviations for *Ιούλιος* in Anatolian inscriptions, both forms even occur in a single inscription. We cannot therefore attach much value to the use of the form *Ιουλ.* for *Ιουλίαν* in line 4 as bearing on this question: but so far as it goes, it supports the form *Ιούλ.* in line 1. After *ET* there is space for about three letters (one of them lost in the rupture) followed by *IOC*. My first copy leaves the space blank: my second copy has *IIIOC*; and both impressions seem to have *NIOC*. The remaining letters (there is hardly space for more than two) are irrecoverably lost, but there can hardly be a doubt that the name was *Εὐγένιος*. The other proper names which the older version contains are given correctly (although *Ιουλ.* is assigned to Nestorianus instead of Flaviana—again suggesting that the copy was written down from memory), and, in the matter of the name of the Bishop himself, we must give some weight to its evidence. Until further inspection of the sarcophagus definitely disproves this reading, we must adopt it.

Κο[υ]ησσέως. The third letter of this word has been printed

as a restoration, but *υ* is almost certainly the right letter. My first copy has *T*, my second *Υ*. *Υ* often looks like *T* in inscriptions; the reverse is rarer. One of the impressions seems to have *Υ*. The other is defective at this point.

Line 10. *χρόνον τ[ὸν] βραχύν* is epigraphically possible. Taken by itself it could mean "the short span of life"; but the context shows that *χρόνον τε βραχύν* must be the true reading.

Line 17. My copies give Π/[. .]ΑCΑΠΛΩ. The older version has *πασῶν ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς καταστάσεων*. *Πασῶν ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς* is an echo of the original reading, which was unquestionably *πάντας ἀπλῶ* (*sic*), an engraver's error for *πάντα ἀπλῶς*. This species of error is well known to palaeographers, but is rare on inscriptions.

κατασκευά[σας λυψόμε]νος. There is space for nine or ten letters here. *Λυψόμενος* fills the space, and gives the required sense. The formula *λίψας βίον* occurs in an epitaph of Galatia published by the writer in the *Classical Review*, November 1908. The middle of the verb *λείπω*, in active sense, is found in epitaphs.¹

Line 18. After ΠΞ there is space for three or four letters, followed by part of Ξ. *Πέλτα τε* are undoubtedly the missing words. What *πέλτα* means is not clear: it was some part of a sepulchral monument. An epitaph copied by me at Laodiceia Combusta contains the formula *τὰ πέλτα κατεσκεύασαν*, and the word was common in Phrygian, Pisidian and Lycaonian epitaphs.

Προ[γεγραμμένα] ταῦτα. Between ΠΡΟ and ΤΑΥΤΑ there is space for ten or eleven letters, one letter more than in the corresponding gap in the line above. [*γεγραμμένα*] exactly fills the gap, and is the word required.

At the end of line 18, the engraver felt himself pressed for space. The letters are crowded together; in *ἐπιγρ[ά]φ[ε]ιν*

¹ Examples are quoted by Ramsay in *Philologus*, 1888, p. 754.

α and the second ϵ are omitted.¹ After ἐπιγράφειν the sense requires words like (ἐπὶ τύμβον) ἐμὸν κ.τ.λ. Perhaps the engraver, after cutting ἐ of ἐπι, inadvertently passed on to the word ἐμὸν.

Line 19. ἐκ[δοχῆς]. The first stroke of Δ is preserved on the marble. The restoration is practically certain. The word is unusual in this connexion, but it gives the right sense.

A note of Professor Ramsay's on the older copy is repeated here. "After προπύλου" (line 16) "perhaps the proposition σύν has been omitted." This seems the only way of accounting for the change from genitive to dative (see next section).

III. THE LANGUAGE OF THE EPITAPH.

The Greek of this epitaph is clumsy. Apart from engraver's errors, such as στρατευσάμενον and πάντας ἀπλῶ, the epitaph is awkwardly composed. Eugenius does not understand the use of Greek particles. He was a Roman, and his marriage with Flaviana, the daughter of a Roman senator, shows that he moved in the best society in the East. He certainly writes Greek like one who has learnt it as a foreign language.

Now, the Greek of this inscription bears a close resemblance to that of the contemporary Eusebius of Caesarea. One or two verbal resemblances, selected from among a large number, are given.

In line 5 κελεύσεως φοιτησάσης is like ἐτέρων ἐπιφοιτησάντων γραμμάτων in Eusebius viii. ii. 4.

In lines 14, 15, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνοικοδομήσας ἀπὸ θεμελίων should be compared with ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας.

In line 16, (σύν) καί can be paralleled from the first sentence of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*

¹ The omission of ϵ in such cases is, however, common. Compare τάξι and πάλι in Eugenius' epitaph.

πλείστας δὲ ὅσας (l. 7) and εἴκοσι πέντε ὅλοις ἔτεσιν (l. 12) can be paralleled *passim* in Eusebius. And the brief description of the building of the church at Laodiceia recalls Eusebius' manner of describing the church at Tyre.

This resemblance between the Greek of Eusebius and that of Eugenius is not accidental. It has been pointed out by Professor Ramsay and others¹ that the diffusion of the Greek language among the native Anatolian peoples, to the disadvantage of the native languages, was the work not of the Roman rule, but of Christianity. This implies a Greek language adapted to Christian rather than Roman ways of thinking: and such is the Greek that Eugenius has learnt. The Bishop of Laodiceia, like the Bishop of Caesarea, uses the Greek which was current in Christian circles in his time. It is a very different Greek from that of a Rhetor like Aelius Aristides, 150 years earlier.

IV. COMMENTARY.

It is possible that Cyrillus was the father and Celer the grandfather of Eugenius: but more probably Cyrillus Celer is to be taken as the father's double name. The title Senator (βουλευτής) on an inscription of Laodiceia can only mean a member of the Senate of Laodiceia. Under the Roman empire, membership of the Senate in a provincial city gradually gathered expensive duties around it, only the well-to-do could afford the burdens imposed on Senators, and membership of the Senate became almost hereditary in rich families. It is therefore in the highest degree probable that Cyrillus Celer was a senator of Laodiceia as well as Eugenius. His ethnic in any other city but Laodiceia would therefore be Λαοδικεύς (or Κλαυδιολαοδικεύς, which apparently was antiquated by this time).

But in this inscription, set up in Laodiceia itself, he is

¹ See especially Professor Holl of Berlin, in *Hermes*, 1908, p. 240 ff.

designated as *Κουησσεύς*. The adjective implies a form *Κουησσός* as the substantive. This is the first mention of such a place. But in the Tekmoreian lists the adjective *Κουσεανός* occurs, implying a form *Κουσέα*, which Professor Ramsay has shown to be a village of Pisidia,¹ and it is possible that *Κουησσός* and *Κουσέα* represent different attempts to write the Pisidian name of the same place in Greek. *Κουησσός* or *Κουσέα* must therefore be looked for in the territory of Laodiceia, or, at least, not far off. The designation of a man by his village name in a context in which his city-designation is implied, is quite natural, and is to be compared with the practice in the Tekmoreian lists of designating members by the names both of their city and of their village. Eugenius belonged to a Roman family of wealth and rank, for he appears as the son-in-law of a Roman senator. Practically, this implies, in the East, that he was a great landowner, and he may have been one of the Roman landholders in Phrygia Paroreios. We take *Κουησσός* to be the name of the Tehiftlik, or country village, where Celer lived on his estates, just as European landowners in Asiatic Turkey do in modern times.

So much may be inferred about the origin of Eugenius. The facts of his career, as told by himself, are quite clear. He performed his military service in Pisidia, and suffered for his Faith under Diogenes. The exact date of the formation of the province Pisidia is uncertain, but is generally assumed to have been at Diocletian's reorganization about A.D. 297; this inscription shows that it must have been a considerable time before the Persecution under Maximinus. Valerius Diogenes, praeses of the province, is already known from two inscriptions.² Our inscription shows that he had

¹ Article "The Tekmoreian Guest-friends," in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*.

² C.I.L. iii. 6807, 13661.

a detachment of troops under him. The word *στρατευσάμενος* does not, of course, imply that there was actual fighting, but constant police-work was required among the unruly hill-tribes of Pisidia.

There is something peculiar in Eugenius' reference to his military career. He tells us where and in what detachment of troops he served, then leaves the subject, and records his marriage, and then again returns to the subject of his military service. His words are ". . . (I) served in the detachment under the governor of Pisidia, and married Gaia Julia Flaviana, the daughter of Gaius Nestorianus, a Roman senator, and served with distinction." It is as if he were on the point of saying something, and kept it back !

Now what we should certainly have expected Eugenius to record in this connexion is his rank in the army. That he was not a common soldier, but an officer, may be taken as absolutely certain, and for two reasons. The first of these reasons is his own social rank, as indicated by his marriage with the daughter of a Roman senator. The social prestige of the Roman Senate increased as its political power was taken away. Augustus, the founder of the Empire, had recognized the necessity of maintaining the high social rank of the Senate, and the policy of his successors generally followed his in treating the Senate with deference and respect. The second reason lies in the low esteem in which the army was held at this period. Its prestige (according to Professor Harnack) had steadily gone down under the Roman Empire, and at end of the third century was very low indeed.¹ But at no time could a common soldier have been the son-in-law of a Roman senator.

The question then arises, Why is Eugenius silent on the subject of his military rank ? An examination of the re-

¹ See Harnack, *Militia Christi*, pp. 69, 70 ; Stuart Jones, *Roman Empire*, p. 368.

lations of Christians with the Imperial army at this period suggests the answer.

That Christians had always served in the army since the earliest years of the Christian mission is well known, and the outstanding fact concerning the attitude of the authorities towards those Christians is that, as a rule, their religion was connived at so long as it allowed them to observe military discipline and refrain from attracting notice by acts of insubordination. On the other hand, the attitude of Christian theorists to the question of military service by Christians varied according to temperament and circumstances. Some pointed to Christ's disarming Peter as a direct command to Christians not to be soldiers: others based on such passages as "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's," and on the incident of the centurion at Capernaum and other cases of conversion among soldiers in the New Testament, their contention that military service was quite compatible with Christianity. The controversy raged for centuries, and was by no means extinguished by Constantine's adoption of the Cross as his ensign.

Only one aspect of this controversy concerns us here, and it is an aspect on which due stress is not generally laid by writers on this subject. Argument *a priori* from the religious conscience, in ancient as well as in modern times, cannot afford to neglect the very real distinction which that conscience sets up between active and passive participation in religious ceremonial. Bearing this in mind, we should expect to find some distinction made in the early Christian view between those who actually took part in pagan ritual and those who merely looked on, between military officers and common soldiers. And evidence of such a tendency of opinion on the subject is not lacking.

(1) The extremist Tertullian definitely takes the view

that a Christian cannot become or remain a Roman soldier. But if we look at one of his arguments on the point, we see that before coming to a decision he considers it necessary to refer to a modification of this view made by some of his contemporaries, to the extent that while a Christian could certainly not be a Roman officer, he could at least be a Roman soldier. His words are :

“The further question is now raised, whether a Christian can join the ranks, or a soldier be admitted to the Faith ; also whether (supposing higher officers cannot) a common soldier or officer of low rank, who are under no obligation to perform pagan sacrifice, or sit as judges in capital cases (can be admitted to the Faith).”¹ This passage proves that officers above a certain rank had, as a matter of course, to perform sacrifice to the Roman Emperors, and to sit as judges in (military) cases involving pain of death. And it also proves that Christian public opinion drew a distinction between such officers and the lower ranks in determining questions connected with the service of Christians in the army.

(2) A passage in Eusebius,² which we must examine carefully, throws further light on this question. Marinus, a Roman soldier serving at Caesareia in Palestine, is first on the list for promotion to the rank of centurion. A vacancy occurs, and Marinus is about to be promoted. Then the man who is next on the list comes forward and affirms that Mari-

¹ “At nunc de isto quaeritur, an fidelis ad militiam converti possit, et an militia ad fidem admitti, *etiam* caligata vel inferior quaeque cui non sit necessitas immolationum vel capitalium iudiciorum” (*De Idololatria*, ch. 19). We have italicized the crucial word of this sentence. It obviously cannot mean “even,” for that would reduce the rest of the sentence to nonsense. It must therefore mean “also,” and is used to raise the *further* point whether, excluding officers (who have to perform sacrifice to the emperors and who may violate the Christian command, “Thou shalt not slay,” by sitting as judges in capital cases), common soldiers and officers of low rank could not be Christians. I shall show in the next section that “inferior quaeque (militia)” means officers of lower rank than a centurion.

² *Hist. Eccl.*, vii. 15.

inus cannot hold a Roman rank, according to the old laws, for he is a Christian and does not sacrifice to the Emperors.¹ Marinus is taken before the judge, and given three hours to reconsider his position. At the end of that time, being steadfast, he is executed.

Now this remarkable episode, as Eusebius tells us, occurred at a time of universal peace for the Christian Church.² The martyrdom of Marinus accordingly did not spring from the rigour of a special persecution, but took place in accordance with ordinary army discipline. Eusebius' words imply that Marinus' accuser was next on the list for promotion,³ and this fact supplies the motive of the accusation.

Professor Harnack has pointed out that "this story shows that among officers in the army the profession of Christianity was not tolerated, and it would even seem as though express regulations on the subject were in existence."⁴ But the story, examined carefully, and taken in conjunction with the passage we have quoted from Tertullian, shows more than this. It shows that the centurionate was the first office that definitely compromised a Christian in the manner indicated by Tertullian. So long as Marinus was an officer of lower rank than a centurion, his Christianity remained unchallenged, and this implies that occasions of conflict with the authorities did not arise. His accusation on the eve of promotion was due to the ambition of a rival candidate, and, once the accusation was preferred, the old Roman law on the subject of "religiones illicitae" had to take its course. His accuser

¹ "μὴ ἐξείναι μὲν ἐκείνῳ τῆς Ῥωμαίων μετέχειν ἀξίας κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς νόμους, Χριστιανῶ γε ὄντι καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μὴ θύοντι."

² "εἰρήνης ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐσσης." The incident happened in the reign of Gallienus.

³ αὐτῷ δὲ ἐπιβάλλειν τὸν κλῆρον (so I would correct αὐτῷ of Burton's text).

⁴ *Expansion of Christianity* (English Translation), vol. ii. p. 211.

lays stress on the fact that, being a Christian, he does not sacrifice to the Emperors. This implies that officers of lower rank than centurion were not in the ordinary course required to perform such sacrifices; else Marinus would have had to perform an act of insubordination, and suffer for it, earlier in his career. The words "*καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μὴ θύοντι*" are therefore not part of the charge; for if men of Marinus' rank were not required by the army regulations to sacrifice to the Emperors, the failure of Marinus to sacrifice could not be imputed as a crime. Of course, it was a common practice of Roman governors and officers, in dealing with Christians, to require persons accused of Christianity to sacrifice to the Emperors as a test of their non-adhesion to, or renunciation of, the Christian religion; but that is another matter.¹ There is no question of sacrificing to the Emperors as a test in the passage before us. The charge is therefore simply that Marinus is a Christian: the words *καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μὴ θύοντι* are added to show that in any case he cannot be a centurion.

Now a glance at the conditions of service in the army make it clear why Marinus' Christianity should incapacitate him for promotion to the rank of centurion. The Roman officer in command of a detachment of troops had to perform religious ceremonies on certain festivals, such as the anniversary of the day of the Emperor's accession, and it is common to find a detachment of troops stationed under command of a centurion.² In the absence of a superior officer, the centurion had to perform sacrifice, a thing which a Christian could not do. So far as Roman military

¹ See, e.g., Pliny's Letters to Trajan on the Christians, and the following section (3)

² The records of conversions of centurions in the New Testament do not bear on this point. We are discussing the effects of the gradual growth of two centuries of Christian opinion on the one hand, and of Roman administration on the other, on the question of the "Soldatenstand."

discipline and Christian opinion are concerned, it is no answer to our contention to point to the undoubted fact that Christians occasionally *were* high officers in the Roman army. The general principles remain unaltered, and these cases were exceptional, and must be explained as such.

(3) In his Book of Martyrs, Lactantius¹ gives the substance of the Edict of Galerius against Christians in the army. He has just said that Galerius had given orders that not only those whose regular duty it was to perform sacrifice, but all officials in the civil service, should take active part in pagan ritual, or be scourged. He goes on to say, "And he sent letters to the officers ordering that soldiers *too* should be compelled to offer unholy sacrifice; those who refused to be dismissed the service." Here again "etiam" is an important word. It is generally taken to mean "soldiers (as well as civil servants)," but it may mean "soldiers (as well as officers)." In either case, a distinction is obviously implied in this Edict as between soldiers and officers. Galerius does not think it necessary to tell the officers that they themselves must sacrifice, for they did so as a matter of course. On the other hand, the Edict implies that the common soldiers did not as a rule take part in sacrifice; they are to be compelled to do so on this occasion with the definite object of clearing the ranks of Christians.

It follows from what has been said, that in the third century of our era the rank of a Roman officer was regarded by Christians as much more compromising in a Christian than that of a common soldier. It does not follow that no Christians can have been officers; the contrary is known to be the case; Marinus himself, three hours before he

¹ *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, ch. 10. "Datisque ad præpositos literis, etiam milites cogi ad nefanda sacrificia præcepit, ut qui non paruissent, militia solverentur."

was led to execution for his Faith, seems to have been quite prepared to accept the office of centurion. But Christian public opinion discountenanced the practice.

Now we know from other sources that in the time of Eugenius this very question of service in the Roman army was a burning one in the Church. One of the Canons of the Nicene Council, held in the year 325 A.D., prescribes ecclesiastical punishments for a specific class of offenders: and no doubt the whole question was discussed at the Council. The question was discussed also at the Council of Arles in the year 314 A.D., and it was decided that "Christians who throw down their arms in time of peace shall be debarred from Communion." In these circumstances we can understand why Eugenius is so reticent about his rank in the army. As an officer in the army, he must have offered sacrifice to the Emperors, or have been prepared to do so. A dignitary of his standing in the Christian Church would naturally wish to say as little as possible concerning a rather equivocal episode in his past career! And perhaps the reason why Laodiceia Combusta did not send her Bishop to the Nicene Council is to be sought in Eugenius' sensitiveness on the subject of "military offenders," and disinclination to discuss it. There is a touch of human nature in his silence!

The greatest service which the Epitaph of Eugenius has done to Roman and Christian history is its preservation of an Edict of Maximinus Daza, of which all other record had been lost. The importance of this Edict can best be realized if it is placed in its chronological order among the other facts bearing on the religious condition of the Roman army at this period. We may tabulate the known facts as follows.

1. In 303, Galerius put forth an Edict that all Roman soldiers should sacrifice, *or be expelled from the army*.

2. Between 307 and 312,¹ appeared the newly discovered Edict of Maximinus, that all Christians (in the army) should sacrifice, *and should not be allowed to leave the army.*

3. In 312, Constantine's Edict of Toleration legalised Christianity inside as well as outside the army.

4. In 314, the Council of Arles decreed that Christians who threw down their arms in time of peace should be debarred from Communion. (Canon iii.)

5. In 314, war broke out between Constantine and Licinius (who was at the head of a pagan revival in the army), and was renewed in 323. It was apparently in the final contest that Licinius issued an Edict like that of Galerius, having for its object *to purge the army of Christians.*

6. In 325, the Council of Nicaea decreed punishments against "those who are called by grace and have displayed early zeal and laid aside their military belts, but have subsequently turned back like a dog to his vomit—some even spending money and securing military reinstatement by dint of presents." (Canon xii.)

These facts can now be seen to form a definite chain of historical development, of which one link has hitherto been missing, and the Arles Canon, the meaning of which has up to the present been obscure, is seen in the light of this new discovery to offer difficulties no longer.

All the Edicts and Canons we have tabulated concern Christians *in the Roman army.* It was known already that Maximinus required *all* Christians to sacrifice; the new Edict affects only Christians in the army. The words "should not be relieved of military service" cannot refer to the population of the Empire in general, for only a small fraction of the population was required to serve in the army.

The Persecution under Diocletian and his coadjutors was

¹ This Edict must belong to the period before the Edict of Toleration, not to the attempt made by Maximinus to suppress it in 313.

the last grand effort of Paganism to crush Christianity in the Roman Empire. It was a struggle to the death between two great world-wide forces, between the new religion which had by this time sunk into the very bone and marrow of the common people, and had long claimed adherents among the upper classes, and the old ideas and aspirations which inspired those who still believed in the Destiny of Imperial Rome. The Edicts and Canons which we have set side by side, mark vividly the stages by which the great contest fought itself out in the army; they also show to what an extent Christianity had affected the army, in the West as well as in the East.

The Edict of Galerius is the first move. Living in the East, he saw that the army was rapidly becoming Christian. A lover of the old religion, he wished to stamp out the new. He accordingly decreed that every man in the army must offer sacrifice, or, if he refused, be dismissed. The newly discovered Edict of Maximinus shows us what was the effect of Galerius' Edict on the army. The object of both these men was the same, a non-Christian army, but a strong army. Maximinus' Edict proves that as the result of Galerius' Edict the ranks had been thinned. No Roman Emperor could afford at such a time to reduce the effective strength of the army, and Maximinus took the drastic step of decreeing that all Christians in the army should remain there, *and should renounce their Christianity*. This was bound to bring about a crisis, and it did. The Christian soldiery was compelled to make a definite stand against the design of Maximinus. Christianity in the army was driven in upon itself, and, for the first time, became conscious of its strength. The result was the Edict of Toleration, the triumph of Christianity, and the Cross replaced the pagan emblems on the Roman standards.

Two years after the date of the Edict of Toleration, the

Council of Arles sat and deliberated. One of its decrees was : "Those who throw down their arms in time of peace shall be debarred from Communion."¹ Various attempts have been made to explain away this decree. Some critics have maintained that "arma proicere" means here "arma in aliquem conicere"; as if a Church Council which met at a critical juncture in the history of the world, should have devoted one of its Canons to providing for the chastisement of brawling soldiers ! Other critics have suspected a corruption in the text, and would change "in time of peace" into "in time of war." Others, again, understand the words "in time of peace" in the sense of peace for the Church, or absence of persecution. Professor Harnack champions the integrity of the Canon as it stands, and admits the difficulty of the words "in time of peace."² Indeed the true meaning of this Canon, and its development out of the situation in which the Church was placed, have only now become clear. This Canon is, in effect, the answer of the Church, so far as Christian service in the army is concerned, to Constantine's Edict of Toleration. The struggle between Christianity and Paganism in the army has been won by Christianity—it has attained the rank of a legal religion, with a privileged position—and this Canon is the Church's guarantee to Constantine that she is not to allow the army to suffer by the victory. The Church is, indeed, falling back from the position she had been forced to take up during the Persecution. In the earlier stage of the Persecution, Christians had been driven out of the army : so far the Church had no ground of quarrel with the authorities. But the Edict of Maximinus created a new situation. Now Christians in the army had to perform acts of idolatry, without the alternative of

¹ "De his qui arma proiciunt in pace placuit abstineri eos a communione."

² *Militia Christi*, pp. 87, 88.

dismissal. They had either to renounce their Faith, or, like Eugenius, suffer tortures for adhering to it. In such a state of affairs, the inevitable policy of the Church was to urge her members to quit the service at all costs. Eugenius actually takes credit in his Epitaph for having "striven to quit the service." But now the struggle is over, the Church has won, and the army is free to be Christian. The Church now finds it necessary to go back expressly on the injunctions she had issued at the time of the Persecution. The genuineness of the reading "in time of peace" therefore becomes evident. Those who "throw down their arms" *in time of war* are not the persons with whom the Church was concerned. They are simply cowards, and, as such, concern only the army authorities. The persons whom the Church has in view are those who throw down their arms, not, through cowardice, in time of war, but, following the behest which the Church herself had issued a few years earlier, even in time of peace. The words "in time of peace" show distinctly the attitude which the Church had taken during the Persecution, and which she is now renouncing. In time of peace, a soldier's occupation might seem more consistent with Christian principles than in time of war, when crimes forbidden to Christians have to be committed. It was not, so to speak, the "*crimina inhaerentia militiae*" (which are more prominent, from the Christian point of view, in time of war), but "*militia ipsa*," the bare fact of serving in the army, that the Church had discountenanced in her members. Under the stress of the Persecution, she had adopted Tertullian's view that military service *as such*, and therefore in time of peace, was incompatible with Christianity.

This decree of the Council of Arles shows that the conscientious scruples of converted Roman soldiers concerning their walk in life had not been allayed by the elevation of Christianity to a place of honour among the religions of the

Empire. The question whether a Christian could remain a soldier was still discussed, and sometimes, it would appear, answered in the negative. The Church is compelled to make a definite pronouncement on the subject, she pronounces against those of her members who quit the army on the ground of their religion, and accompanies her pronouncement with a threat.

Now this action on the part of the Church gains colour from the circumstances attending the issue of the next Edict on our list, that of Licinius. Licinius put himself at the head of a pagan revival in the army, and sought to renew the struggle. Another effort against Paganism was soon to be required of the Christian element in the army, and for this effort the Church needed all her soldiers. She could not afford to have the most conscientious among the Christians leave the ranks. Such is very probably the true explanation of the Third Canon of the Council of Arles.

Eleven years after the Council of Arles, another Church Council met at Nicaea, and drew up a Canon having reference to Christian soldiers. We must note at the outset that this Council met in the East, and was largely composed of representatives of Churches in the East, whereas that of Arles was Western. Christianity was at this time much stronger in the East than in the West, and this may account to some extent for the more uncompromising attitude which the Council of Nicaea adopted towards the question of military service. The position of the Church among the population in general, and therefore in the army, was stronger in the East than in the West. And further, the Twelfth Canon of the Council of Nicaea affects only a single class of offenders, those who had left the service and then sought reinstatement. Still, this Canon shows that a different spirit now ruled in the Church from that which produced the Third Canon of Arles. Licinius had just been finally vanquished by Con-

stantine, the President of the Council ; the Church had now nothing to fear from armed Paganism, and modifies the attitude she had taken at the Council of Arles. The Canon of Nicaea was a concession to the extremists, who held that Christians ought not to be soldiers, just as that of Arles was a concession to circumstances.

The forthcoming issue of a book by Miss Gertrude L. Bell and Sir W. M. Ramsay on the early Christian Churches of Bin-bir-kilisse, in which due notice will be taken of the architectural details given in Eugenius' epitaph, relieves me of the necessity of discussing the subject at length.¹ A few notes are added on points that call for explanation.

κεντήσεων. The word *κεντήσις* is given in the dictionaries in the original sense of "punctio." It occurs here, for the first time, as meaning some feature of early Christian Church architecture or decoration.

The first idea that suggests itself is to connect the word with *κεντητόν* in Epictetus, *Enchr.* 39,² and give it the meaning of "embroideries." That embroideries were used as a decoration in pagan temples is proved by a passage in Tertullian,³ and the custom may have been taken over by the early Christian Church. But this meaning is unlikely here. The word evidently refers to some important feature of the building. The space on the sarcophagus is brief, and only the main architectural and decorative features can be enumerated. Now, if embroideries formed a sufficiently important part of church decoration to find mention in this brief catalogue, they are hardly likely to have escaped mention by the contemporary Eusebius in his long and detailed description of the Church at Tyre. Eusebius makes no mention of embroideries. Further, in the best

¹ A thing which, in any case, I am not qualified to do.

² *γίνεται κατάχρυσον ὑπόδημα, εἶτα πορφυροῦν, εἶτα κεντητόν.*

³ *De Idol.* iii., "an Phrygio detexerat," . . . "an filo formetur idolum."

preserved churches at Bin-bir-kilisse, and in the beautiful church at Changli-kilisse, much of the wall-space is given to paintings of the gorgeous robes of saints. It was thus the custom to paint embroideries. And the word *κεντήσεων* cannot refer to painted embroideries, for these are summed up under *ζωγραφιδῶν*.

Eusebius does not mention embroideries; but there is a feature of the church at Tyre which he considers important enough to refer to no fewer than three times.¹ This is the carved wood-work of the church, part at least of which is to be taken as separating off the inner portion from the outer. We take *κεντήσεων* to be the name for similar carved wood-work, or fret-work, at Laodiceia.

The meaning of the verb *κεντεῖν* is to "pierce" or "prick." There is a derivative *κεντητήριον*, meaning an "awl." The word is more commonly used in application to textile stuffs than to wood-work; but it is as appropriate to the latter as to the former. A similar transference to wood-work of a word appropriate to textile stuffs is exhibited in *δικτύοις* and *δικτυωτοῖς* in the passages quoted from Eusebius. Professor Harrower has pointed out to me a like transference of a term with a textile connotation to stone-work in *Rob Roy*. "Ah, it's a brave kirk (Glasgow Cathedral); nane o' yere whigmaleeries and curlewurlies and *opensteek hems* about it—a' solid weel-jointed mason-wark."

ὑδρείου. See Sir W.M. Ramsay in *EXPOSITOR* (October 1908), p. 299. The modern village of Ladik is well supplied with fountains, and there is evidence that this was the case also with Laodiceia. One of an interesting group

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* κ. 4, § 38: "ὡν (sc. τῶν κίβνων) τὰ μέσα διαφράγμασι τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου δικτυωτοῖς εἰς τὸ σύμμετρον ἤκουσι μήκους περικλείσας. . . ."

§ 41: "ταῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου λεπτουργίαις . . . καταποικίλλων."

§ 43: τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου περιέφραττε δικτύοις, εἰς ἄκρον ἐντέχῃον λεπτουργίας ἐξησκημένοις.

of Imperial inscriptions discovered by the writer beside the ruins of a pagan temple in the hills close to Laodiceia, contains a dedication to a citizen of Laodiceia who, among other acts of public spirit, "undertook the bringing of the supply of water to the Nymphaion in the market-place at his own expense."¹ This is a concrete instance of the Christian competition with pagan effort in works of public utility to which Professor Ramsay has drawn notice.

W. M. CALDER.

¹ "ἐπιμεληθέντα εἰσαγωγῆς ὑ[δ]ρατος τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ νύμφαι[ο]ν ἀναλώμασιν ἰδι[ο]ύς." In the hills above Laodiceia, water is abundant; ὑδρεῖον therefore means a fountain here, not a cistern. Cf. Eusebius, x. 4, 40: "Here (in the central court of the Church at Tyre) he has placed symbols of sacred purifications, setting up fountains (κρήνας) opposite the temple, which furnish an abundance of water wherewith those who come within the sanctuary may purify themselves."

ANALECTA.

I. A LAODICEAN BISHOP.

THE epitaph of the Roman soldier and Christian bishop discovered by my friend Mr. Calder, and published with learning, accuracy and sympathy in the preceding pages, is one of the outstanding and exceptional historical documents that the soil of Anatolia has preserved to modern times. It ranks along with or next to the epitaph of Bishop Avircius Marcellus, and far surpasses in importance the interesting document intermediate in age, the epitaph of the Makarios Papas, Bishop Theophilus.¹

As Mr. Calder mentions, almost every word in the closely compressed biography suggests a new train of thought, for it plunges us into the heart of the final struggle between Christianity and Paganism in Anatolia. Here we have a person who played a leading part in the great drama, not indeed on the greater stage of the empire, but on the narrower stage of a Province. Like most of the leading figures in the development of the Orthodox Church in Anatolia, he belonged to one of those wealthier country-families about which we are beginning to learn a little through recent discoveries—families which could command the highest education of the time and thus have access to the higher career ;² for in that civilized time education was the necessary passport for entrance to public life (except for the man of rare and outstanding genius, who is always largely independent of circumstances).

Mr. Calder has treated with tact and knowledge the earlier part of Engenius's career ; and has indicated with the brevity which circumstances required the most important

¹ Published by Miss Ramsay in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 22.

² See on this *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 376.

aspects of this fresh evidence. It may not be out of place for me to add a short discussion of the career of Eugenius as a church leader in his own Province. We can imagine that, immediately after the decree of toleration issued by Galerius in A.D. 311, the soldier who had kept the faith so nobly¹ was regarded with peculiar veneration in his own city, and was raised by acclamation to the highest position in the local church at the earliest opportunity. The reference to his having resided only "a short time" in Laodicea before he became bishop, must be taken as full of meaning in this brief epitaph, where every word is carefully weighed and nothing is stated except what is vitally important. We may assume confidently that he was raised very quickly to the supreme rank without passing in the usual way through all the lower stages of the ministry.

In his episcopate Julius Eugenius devoted himself to the restoration of the church at Laodicea, which had evidently been destroyed in the great persecution and had to be rebuilt from the foundations. This is in striking agreement with the History of Eusebius, who, immediately after the final edict and the death of Maximin, proceeds to describe the restoration of the churches. The new churches were far more splendid than those which had been destroyed. Christianity was now dominant and prosperous; money flowed in; and the Imperial bounty contributed to the rebuilding.² The emperors had always made a practice of contributing liberally to works of public utility; and churches were now regarded as a necessary part of municipal equipment. As here the Laodicean church was restored ἐκ θεμελίων, so Eusebius tells that they were rebuilt ἐκ βάθρων. As

¹ The earlier part of Eugenius's career evidently had its scene in Pisidian Antioch, the capital of the Province. His wife's family doubtless had their seat in the capital.

² Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, x. 2: compare also x. 6 on Constantine's African donations.

Eugenius mentions the "adornment" or "equipment" (κόσμος) of his church, so Eusebius, x. 4, in the panegyric which he addressed to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, on the dedication of the new-built church speaks of "the splendid ornaments of this temple" (τὰ τοῦδε τοῦ νεῶ περικαλλῇ κοσμήματά).

We may fairly take the rest of Eusebius's very full description of the church at Tyre as an illustration of what Eugenius did. Paulinus used the old site, which had been purposely polluted with all kinds of impurities, so that the cleansing of it was a troublesome work. In the old establishment, the outer gates (πύλαι) had been cut down with axes, the holy books had been destroyed and the church had been burned;¹ but Paulinus built a new, much larger and more magnificent church and series of constructions, surrounded by a wider enclosing wall (περίβολος). On the east side he built a large and lofty entrance (πρόπυλον), calculated to attract the attention even of strangers and enemies, to astound them by the contrast of the present splendour and the former desolation, to afford them, as they stood far outside, a good view of all that was inside, and entice them to enter. Passing through the outer gateway or Propylon, the visitor or the devotee came next into a wide square space, open to the heavens, surrounded by four covered porticoes supported on columns: from column to column stretched screens of wooden lattice-work.² This atrium is what Eugenius calls a tetrastoon.³ In the open space of the atrium there were fountains of flowing water, so that all visitors might

¹ ἐνεπύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ τὸ ἀγιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

² στοαῖς κίονιν πανταχόθεν ἐπαιρομέναις· ὦν τὰ μέσα διαφράγμασι τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου δικτυωτοῖς ἐς τὸ σύμμετρον ἤκουσι μήκους περικλείσας.

³ The word *tristoon*, which I proposed in an inscription of the Phrygian city Akmonia, has been accepted by Mommsen C.I.L. iii. 12236; it implies either a triangular chamber, or more probably one in which the fourth side for some structural reason, had no stoa. There is such a chamber in the "House of the Tragic Poet" at Pompeii.

enter the holier buildings purified and not with unwashed feet. Opposite the outer entrance Paulinus made another gateway (πρόπυλον) with three gates, the largest and loftiest in the middle. These caught the rays of the rising sun, like the outer gateway. The church itself (ναός, βασιλείος οἶκος, ὡς ἀν βασιλῆς) was surrounded with porticoes (στοαί) on both sides. In the church the holy place (θυσιαστήριον) was partitioned off by beautifully wrought wooden screens of lattice-work,¹ to the admiration of spectators. He made the pavement of marble, and on each side he constructed chambers and exedrai for various hieratic purposes of purification, baptism, etc.

The analogy of this contemporary church at Tyre not merely shows what was the arrangement and appearance of the Laodicean buildings, but also proves that the same type was widely accepted in the Christian world of the fourth century. Another example has recently been uncovered in the excavations conducted by Dr. Wiegand at Miletus.² Here also the Propylon leads to an atrium of the usual form ; and through the atrium one enters the church (which has the form of a basilica). A variety of other buildings are grouped closely around, forming one single complex structure. The entrance is from the west, not from the east, as at Tyre.

There was no wall to enclose the whole group of buildings at Miletus ; but this was not required, for the space was contracted and surrounded by other buildings ; hence the ecclesiastical establishment was hemmed in on every side by other structures ; and there was no space as well as no need for a boundary wall.

¹ τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου περιέφραττε δικτύοις, εἰς ἄκρον ἐντέχνου λειτουργίας ἐξησκημένοις, ὡς θαυμάσιον τοῖς ὁρώσι παρέχειν τὴν θέαν.

² *Sechster vorläufige Bericht*, p. 28 ff. (Berlin, 1908 ; *Anhang zu den Abhandl. d. Akad.*).

There is, therefore, no doubt as to the character of Eugenius's constructions. The whole was surrounded by an enclosing wall or peribolos. This wall is implied by the entrance gateway (*πρόπυλον*), and is summed up among the works of masonry, which are comprehensively mentioned at the end of the list.

The gateway in this surrounding wall admitted to an open space in which there were at least two atriums (*tetrastoa* in the plural), or square spaces open to the sky and surrounded by porticoes. The church also was bordered by porticoes. There was a water-tank instead of the fountains of the Tyrian church ; but at Laodicea (which lies close under the hills, and has abundance of running water brought by artificial channels) the tank was certainly filled with water which was always flowing in fresh, and running off at the opposite side. The church and perhaps the atria were decorated with paintings. There remain the *κεντήσεις*, a word not elsewhere quoted in the technical sense here employed. There can, however, be no doubt that Mr. Calder is right in taking the word to denote carved work, made by piercing holes in wood. I should unhesitatingly identify them with the lattice-work screens, which were used at Tyre both in the church and in the atrium.

Eusebius in his panegyric makes no reference to the municipal side of this Tyrian work. He regards it as intended for the faithful alone, and speaks only of its ecclesiastical purpose. The pagan strangers look from outside, and the hope is entertained that the interior splendour may allure them to qualify for entrance. But it is clear that these great structures were intended to be a centre of social life for the faithful ; and, as the cities became entirely Christianized, the church buildings formed the centre of city life generally.

This architectural enterprise must have absorbed all the energy of Bishop Eugenius for the twenty-five years of his

episcopate,¹ and was perhaps the reason why he did not attend the Council of Nicæa in A.D. 325 (though the situation of Laodicea on the great road made it easier for him to attend than it was for such distant bishops as those of Barata, Isaura, Vasada, and others in Pisidia and Lycaonia). It was necessary for him to find the workmen and the money, as well as to exercise constant supervision over the work. The well-known letter of Gregory to Amphilochius about the much smaller building which he intended to erect at Nyssa² shows how much depended on the bishop in such a case.

The social and charitable idea which is embodied in Basil's group of buildings at Caesareia might conceivably have been attributed to Syrian influence; and the example of Tyre might perhaps have been quoted as a proof of this origin. But the Laodicean constructions show the same idea in Asia Minor at a date contemporary with the Tyrian buildings. Moreover, it seems clear that Eugenius considered himself to be restoring the church and accompaniments which had been destroyed. Doubtless, the new buildings were likely to be larger and more magnificent than the old, for the Church was now dominant in the land; but Eugenius clearly implies that the same idea of the church with its surrounding constructions had existed before and was restored by him. This type of ecclesiastical centre for the social and common life of the Christian community must, therefore, have been at least as old in Asia Minor as the third century. In fact, as is pointed out in the EXPOSITOR, October, 1908, p. 298, this is the original idea of the Christian world. The Church

¹ He may have lived long after writing his epitaph on his tomb, and his bishopric may have lasted some years more.

² It is translated and commented on by Bruno Keil in Strzygowski's *Kleinasion ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*. This church was only a martyrium or memorial of a martyr; and was a single small church of the usual type.

originated in the house. Meetings were held in the house before they were held in specially constructed buildings. The Church claimed, in opposition to the Empire, to be the parent, adviser and guide of the people—advancing the claim first of all as being the assembly of the saints, the faithful, afterwards as being a monarchically organized body in which the bishop as head was director and representative of the whole community. Hence the church-building was the centre of the common life.

Basil's ecclesiastical and social group of buildings at Caesarea was on such a great scale as to be popularly called "the New City"; and the name clearly indicates this character which belonged to them. It also shows probably that, like other similar groups of buildings, they were surrounded by an enclosure or wall, and so resembled a city.

We trace the same idea, perhaps, in the following century, or, a little later still, at Barata,¹ where two of the churches, No. 1 and No. 7, seem to have formed part of a complex of buildings, one of which at least, viz., No. 7, was surrounded by a wall, and contained a large construction which can hardly have served any other than a social purpose, as an *exedra*. It is probable that these ecclesiastical establishments were gradually developed into monasteries, or at least formed one of the causes which contributed to the growth of monasteries. In such an establishment as Basil's New City it was necessary to have a considerable staff of attendants and officials. Naturally, these were formed into an order of persons who devoted themselves to the life; and the circumstances of their situation and of the period favoured the growth of a certain character for this class of persons, which fixed itself as the monastic order. The rules were systematized by Basil himself.

¹ See EXPOSITOR, August–October, 1907.

It is clear that Eugenius was (as might have been confidently expected) a bishop after the fully developed monarchical type. He speaks for his church. Action which must have been the work of the whole Laodicean Church is stated by him in the first person singular. He controls the church finances. The expenses of rebuilding may have been, and probably were, in part paid by him, and his birth from a family of distinction suggests that he was in a position to spend considerable sums for this purpose. But it cannot be supposed that the Church finances were not applied to pay in part the expense of the new building. The bishop, when he says "I rebuilt," means that he, as the head of the local Church, the director of its action and the manager of its money, was the constructor of the new buildings.

It is also worthy of note that the form of the epitaph is of the old, native type. It begins with the name of the maker of the tomb, states who he is, and ends with the definition of the legal rights regarding use of the tomb. The denunciation of legal proceedings or the invocation of Divine wrath against the unlawful intruder or destroyer (common but not universal on pagan tombs, and common on earlier Christian tombs) is not added.

The old Phrygian custom was still retained. People commonly prepared their own tomb in their lifetime. Whether the pagan idea was still maintained that the making of the tomb was a religious duty and an act of homage to the deity (with whom the dead are united in death), we cannot determine with certainty. But, if it had fallen out of the memory and heart of some, it was still certainly retained in the popular mind, and it revived again in later Byzantine time (as is pointed out in the last number of the *EXPOSITOR*). In Eusebius and other authorities various incidental allusions show that old customs

of pagan society, especially in relation to graves and sepulchral religion, continued to have a strong hold on the Christians in the early centuries : see, e.g., a passage from Theodoret (Schulze, iv. 923 f.), quoted by Harnack, *Expansion of Chr.*, Bk. IV., ch. iii. § 9B., and Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, viii. 6, 8.

Incidentally, it may be observed that this confirms in a general way the dating of Christian epitaphs in Lycaonia, which was advocated in a series of articles in the *EXPOSITOR*, 1905-6. A group of metrical epitaphs which unite the old formula with the new custom, stating at the opening the name of the dead and afterward mentioning who had constructed the tomb, were there dated about A.D. 350-380.

In later life, then, Julius Eugenius, according to the old Phrygian custom, proceeded to prepare his own grave and sepulchral monument. It consisted of *pelta* and a sarcophagus. The curious term *pelta*¹ is probably a native word (used as a neuter, *πέλτον*, in Greek), indicating the basis or substructure on which the sarcophagus was placed : the substructure is called in West-Phrygian epitaphs by various names indicating the whole or parts.²

Following the example of St. Avircius Marcellus, a century and a half earlier, Eugenius caused to be engraved on his sarcophagus a record of his life, and this record has been revealed by Mr. Calder's important discovery. Contrary to the usual custom, the bishop makes no mention of his immediate family except in the vague general phrase of the conclusion (which shows that he had children). He mentions his wife at the beginning in such a way as to suggest that her noble birth was a cause of pride to him ; but he does not say that she was to be buried in the same grave. Possibly, she was already dead and buried at Pisi-

¹ Πέλτα, palisade or latticed barrier surrounding the grave, Keil, *Hermes*, 1908, p. 541. On the term see also Mr. Calder's remarks above.

² βαθρικόν, σύγκρουστον, γράδος, etc. (*Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., p. 367).

dian Antioch, the city to which her family probably belonged. The bishop's attention, however, was fully occupied in the task of compressing into the brief limits of an epitaph the account of his own career; and we must be grateful to him for bequeathing so noteworthy a record of this critical period, which furnishes so striking a confirmation of Eusebius's historical sense in selecting for record the typical acts and processes of the period.

In the above-quoted article (*EXPOSITOR*, October 1908) it is pointed out that the Lycaonian Christian inscriptions contain no trace of the close alliance between the Orthodox Church and the Imperial government, but show us the former still as the Church of the people. In fact, during the second half of the fourth century the Church was forced into opposition against the Arian tendency of the Emperors. But the alliance was already in process of formation from the moment of Constantine's triumph. Mr. Calder rightly traces it in the Canons of the Council of Arles A.D. 314, and the Council of Nicaea 325. It is difficult to suppose that the stern decree of the latter Council had any connexion with the old times of Diocletian and Maximin. The persons who are there punished with such severe penalties are probably soldiers who retired in consequence of Licinius's decree ordering Christians to leave the army during his struggle against Constantine A.D. 315 and 323. It seems natural and highly probable that some of these may have been tempted to rejoin the standards and to fight against Constantine. In the final struggle, when Licinius was in need of every man, he apparently held out great inducements to good officers and soldiers to return. The Council of Nice denounced very severe penalties against all who thus resumed military service: they were, doubtless, a marked class. This must be regarded as an intrusion of political feeling into Church business. It is true, indeed, that Licinius was the champion

of paganism against Constantine : but though this is quite clear to us to-day, it was by no means so clear to the soldiers of the Eastern legions in A.D. 323. It is highly probable that inducements of many kinds were used by Licinius in his extremity, and that the true issue was hidden. Loyalty to the colours (which was enjoined by the Council of Arles) was a strong motive in 323 ; but the Council of Nice saw in such action only opposition to the right Emperor, the champion of the Faith.

In an address delivered to the Congress of Historical Sciences at Berlin, I spoke of this epitaph as an example of the character of church establishments in the fourth century ; but, in publishing the address in the *EXPOSITOR*, October, 1908, I cut out this part, in order to leave to Mr. Calder the pleasure of first publishing his own discovery. I now print an enlargement of the paragraphs on this subject.

W. M. RAMSAY.

THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS.

X.

DOCTRINAL BEARINGS OF THE RESURRECTION.

IT will probably be evident from the preceding discussion that a movement is at present in process which aims at nothing less than the dissolution of Christianity, as that has hitherto been understood. It is not simply the details of the recorded life of Jesus that are questioned, but the whole conception of Christ's supernatural Person and work, as set forth in the Gospels and Epistles, which is challenged. If the Virgin Birth is rejected at one end of the history, and the bodily Resurrection at the other, not less are the miracles and supernatural claims that lie between. With this goes naturally on the part of many a hesitancy in admitting even Christ's moral perfection.¹ A sinless Personality would be a miracle in time, and miracles are excluded by the first principles of the new philosophy. Bolder spirits, taking, as they conceive, a wider outlook on the field of religion, and on the evolutionary advance of the race, would cut loose the progress of humanity from Christianity altogether.² It is an illusion to imagine that a tendency of this kind can be effectively met by any half-way, compromising attitude to the great supernatural facts on which Christianity rests. It is only to be met by the firm reassertion of the whole truth regarding the Christ of the New Testament Gospel—a Christ supernatural in

¹ This tendency is seen in various recent pronouncements. E.g., Mr. G. L. Dickinson, in the *Hibbert Journal* for April, 1908, asks: "How many men are really aware of any such personal relation to Jesus as the Christian religion presupposes? How many, if they told the honest truth, really hold Him to be even the ideal man?" (p. 522)

² The same writer rejects Christianity, and advocates a return to "mythology" (p. 509).

origin, nature, works, claims, mission, and destiny; the divine Son, incarnate for the salvation of the world, pure from sin, crucified and risen, ever-living to carry on to its consummation the work of the Kingdom He founded while on earth. None need really fear that the ground is about to be swept from beneath his feet with respect to this divine foundation by any skill of sceptics or revolutionary discoveries in knowledge. One notices in how strange ways the wheel of criticism itself comes round often to the affirmation of things it once denied. To take only one point: how often has the contrast between the Jesus of the Synoptics and the Pauline and Johannine Christ been emphasized? The contrast is, of course, still maintained, yet with the growing admission that the difference is at most one of *degree*, that the Jesus of the Synoptics is as truly a supernatural being as the Jesus of St. John. Bousset, e.g., states this frankly: "Already," he says, "the oldest Gospel is written from the standpoint of faith; already for Mark is Jesus not only the Messiah of the Jewish people, but the miraculous eternal Son of God, whose glory shone in this world. And it has been rightly emphasized, that in this respect, our first three Gospels are distinguished from the fourth only in degree. . . . For the faith of the community, which the oldest Evangelist already shares, Jesus is the miraculous Son of God, in whom men believe, whom men put wholly on the side of God."¹

In the history of such a Christ as the Gospels depict the Resurrection from the dead has its natural and necessary

¹ *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* pp. 54, 57. To explain these traits some scholars feel it necessary to postulate a revision of St. Mark's Gospel from a Johannine standpoint. Thus J. Weiss, in the *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, ii. p. 324: "For our own part we have been able to collect a mass of evidence in support of the theory that the text of Mark has been very thoroughly revised from the Johannine standpoint, that a host of Johannine characteristics were inserted into it at some period subsequent to its use by Matthew and Mark." There is no real proof of such revision.

place. To the first preachers of Christianity an indissoluble connexion subsisted between the Resurrection of Jesus and the Gospel they proclaimed. Remove that foundation, and, in St. Paul's judgment, their message was gone. "If Christ hath not been raised," he says, "then is our preaching vain, your faith also is vain. . . . If Christ hath not been raised, your faith is vain ; ye are yet in your sins."¹ To "modern" thought, on the other hand, the Resurrection of Jesus, in any other sense, at least, than that of spiritual survival, has no essential importance for Christianity. The belief in a bodily Resurrection is rather an excrescence on Christianity, that can be dropped without affecting it in any vital way. Is this really so ? It may aid faith if it can be shown that, so far from being a non-essential of Christianity, the Resurrection of Jesus is, as the Apostles believed, in the strictest sense, a *constitutive* part of the Christian Gospel.

1. In the older mode of treatment of the Resurrection, peculiar stress was laid upon its *evidential* value. It was the culminating proof of Christ's claim to be "a Teacher come from God,"² or, from a higher point of view, the crowning demonstration of His divine Sonship and Messiahship. It was also the supreme attestation of the fact of immortality. The angle of vision is now considerably changed, and it has rightly become more customary to view the Resurrection in the light of Christ's claims and manifested glory as the Son of God, than to regard the latter as deriving credibility from the former. But care must be taken that the element of truth in the older view is likewise conserved.

(1) With respect to the *divine Sonship*. It is doubtless the case that faith in the Resurrection is connected with, and in part depends on, the degree of faith in Jesus Himself.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 14.

² John iii. 2.

It is the belief that Jesus is such an One as the Gospels represent Him to be—"holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners,"¹ divinely great in the prerogatives He claims as Son of God and Saviour of the world, yet in His submission to rejection and death at the hands of sinful men the perfect example of suffering obedience—which above all sustains the conviction that He, the Prince and Lord of life, cannot have succumbed to the power of death, and prepares the mind to receive the evidence that He actually *did* rise, as the Gospels declare.

This connexion of faith in the Resurrection with faith in Jesus, however, it must now be remarked, in no way deprives the Resurrection of Jesus of the apologetic or evidential value which justly belongs to it as a fact of the first moment, amply attested on its own account, in its bearings on the Lord's Person and claims. The attempt to set faith and historical evidence in opposition to each other, witnessed specially in the Ritschlian school, must to the general Christian intelligence, always fail. Since, as is above remarked, it is implied in Christ's whole claim that He, the Holy One, should not be holden of death²—not merely that He has a spiritual life with God—faith would be involved in insoluble contradictions if it could be shown that Christ has not risen, or, what comes to the same thing, that there is no historical evidence that He has risen. It may be, and is, involved in faith that He should rise from the dead, but this faith would not of itself be a sufficient ground for asserting that He had risen, if all historical evidence for the statement were wanting. Faith cherishes the just expectation that, if Christ has risen, there will be historical evidence for the fact; and were such evidence not forthcoming, it would be driven back upon itself in

¹ Heb. vii. 26.

² Acts ii. 24. This is further illustrated below.

questioning whether its confidence was not self-delusion.

In harmony with this view is the place which the Resurrection of Jesus holds in Scripture, and the stress there laid upon its historical attestation. "Declared," the Apostle says, "to be the Son of God with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, by the Resurrection of the dead."¹ It is undeniable that, if historically real, the Resurrection of Jesus is a confirmation of His entire claim. No mind can believe in that transcendent fact, and in the exaltation that followed it, and continue to apply to Christ a mere humanitarian standard. The older Socinians attempted this, but the logic of the case proved too strong for them. Both assertions hold good : Christ's Personality and claims demand a Resurrection, and, conversely, the Resurrection is a retrospective attestation that Jesus was indeed the exalted and divinely-sent Person He claimed to be.

(2) Not very dissimilar is the position to be taken as to the evidential value of the Resurrection with regard to *immortality*. The relation here is, indeed, more vital than at first appears. The Christian hope, it will immediately be seen, is not merely that of an "immortality of the soul," nor is "eternal life" simply the indefinite prolongation of existence in a future state of being. Keeping, however, at present to the general question of the possibility and reality of a life beyond the grave, it is to be asked what bearing the Resurrection of Jesus has as evidence on this. None whatever, a writer like Professor Lake will reply, for the physical Resurrection is an incredibility, and can prove nothing. Apparitional manifestations are possible, but even these can only be admitted if, first of all, proof is given of the survival of the soul by the help of such phenomena as the Society for Psychical Research furnishes.²

¹ Rom. i. 4.

² *Res. of Jesus Christ*, pp. 245, 272-3.

Others base on the natural grounds for belief in a future life supplied by the constitution of the human soul, eked out, in the case of recent able writers, by appeal to the same class of psychical phenomena.¹ On a more spiritual plane, Herrmann and Harnack would argue that immortality is given as a "thought of faith" in the direct contemplation of Christ's life in God. A soul of such purity, elevation, and devotion to the Father as was Christ's cannot be thought of as extinguished in death.²

It seems evident that, if man is really a being destined for life hereafter, indications of this vast destiny cannot be absent from the make and constitution of his nature. Capacities will reveal themselves in him proportionate to the immortality that awaits him. It is not denied, therefore—at least here—that there are grounds in man's nature abundantly warranting a reasonable faith in a life beyond death, and awakening the craving for more light regarding that future state of being. History and literature, however, are witnesses how little these "natural intimations of immortality" can of themselves do to sustain an assured confidence in a future conscious existence, or to give comfort and hope at the thought of entrance into it. Browning may be styled a poet of immortality, but a long distance is traversed between the early optimism of a *Pauline*,³ and the soul-racking doubts of a *La Saisiaz*, when the question has to be faced and answered in the light of reason, "Does the soul survive the body? Is there God's self, no or yes?"⁴

¹ Cf. the interesting paper on Immortality by Sir Oliver Lodge in the *Hibbert Journal* for April, 1908. The persistence of the soul (which damage or destruction of the brain is held not to disprove) is argued from the "priority in essence of the spiritual to the material" and from such facts as telepathy (pp. 570 ff.), præter-normal psychology (pp. 572 ff.), automatism (pp. 574 ff.), subliminal faculty (pp. 547 ff.), genius (pp. 580 ff.), mental pathology (pp. 582 ff.).

² Cf. Herrmann, *Communion with God* (E. T.), pp. 221-2.

³ Cf. Browning, *Works*, i. pp. 27, 29. ⁴ *Works*, xiv. p. 168.

The spiritual faith that roots itself in Christ's unbroken communion with the Father has, indeed, an irrefragable basis. But is it adequate, if it does not advance to its own natural completion in belief in the Resurrection? For Christ's earthly history does not end as an optimistic faith would expect. Rather, it closes in seeming defeat and disaster. The forces of evil—the powers of dissolution that devour on every side—seem to have prevailed over Him also. Is this the last word? If so, how shall faith support itself? "We hoped that it was He which should redeem Israel."¹ Is not the darkness deeper than before when even He seems to go down in the struggle?

Will it be doubted that, as for the first disciples, so for myriads since, the Resurrection has dispelled these doubts, and given them an assurance which nothing can overthrow that death is conquered,² and that, because Jesus lives, they shall live also?³ Jesus, who came from God and went to God, has shed a flood of light into that unseen world which has vanquished its terrors, and made it the bright home of every spiritual and eternal hope. It is open to any one to reject this consolation, grounded in sure historical fact, or to prefer to it the starlight—if even such it can be named—of dubious psychical phenomena. But will it be denied that for those who, on what they judge the best of grounds, *believe* the Resurrection, there is opened up a "sure and certain hope" of immortality which nothing else in time can give?

2. The Resurrection is an evidential fact, and its importance in this relation is not to be minimized. But this, as a little consideration may show, after all, only touches the exterior of the subject. The core of the matter is not reached till it is perceived that the Resurrection of Jesus is not simply an external seal or evidential appendage to

¹ Luke xxiv. 21.

² 1 Cor. xv. 54-7.

³ John xiv. 19.

the Christian Gospel, but enters as a *constitutive element* into the very essence of that Gospel. Its denial or removal would be the mutilation of the Christian doctrine of Redemption, of which it is an integral part. An opposite view is that of Herrmann, who lays the whole stress on the impression produced by Christ's earthly life. Such a view has no means of incorporating the Resurrection into itself as a constitutive part of its Christianity. The Resurrection remains at most a deduction of faith without inner relation to salvation. It is apt to be felt, therefore, to be a superfluous appendage. In a full Scriptural presentation it is not so. It might almost be said to be a test of the adequacy of the view of Christ and His work taken by any school, whether it is able to take in the Resurrection of Christ as a constitutive part of it.

In New Testament Scripture, it will not be disputed that these two things are always taken together—the Death and the Resurrection of Christ—the one as essentially connected with, and completed in, the other. “It is Christ Jesus that died,” says St. Paul, “yea, rather, that was raised from the dead.”¹ “Who was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification.”² “Who through Him,” says St. Peter, “are believers in God, which raised Him from the dead, and gave Him glory; so that your faith and hope might be in God.”³ “The God of peace, who brought again from the dead the great shepherd of the sheep, with the blood of the everlasting covenant,”⁴ we read in Hebrews. “I am the Living One; and I was dead, and behold, I am alive for evermore,”⁵ says the Lord in the Apocalypse.

What is the nature of this connexion? The answer to

¹ Rom. viii. 34.

² Rom. iv. 25.

³ 1 Pet. i. 21; cf. iii. 18–22.

⁴ Heb. xiii. 20.

⁵ Rev. i. 18.

this question turns on the manner in which the death of Christ itself is conceived, and on this point the teaching of the New Testament is again sufficiently explicit. The Cross is the decisive meeting-place between man's sin and God's grace. It is the point of reconciliation between man and God. *There* was accomplished—at least consummated—the great work of Atonement for human sin! Christ, as the Epistle to the Hebrews declares, “put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself.”¹

It seems superfluous to quote passages in illustration of a truth of which the Apostolic writings are literally full. Jesus Himself laid stress on His death as a means of salvation to the world,² and, theories apart, every principal writer in the New Testament reiterates the idea in every form of expression which the vocabulary of Redemption can yield. But, if this is the true light in which the death of Jesus through and for the sin of man is to be conceived, how does the Resurrection of Jesus stand related to it? Is it an accident? Or is there not connexion of the most vital kind? Manifestly there is, and that in various respects.³

(1) The connexion at the outset is an essential one with *Christ's own work* as Redeemer. One need only follow here the familiar lines of Apostolic teaching, in which the Resurrection is represented under such aspects as the following:—

i. As the natural and necessary *completion* of the work of Redemption itself. Accepting the above interpretation of Christ's death, it seems evident that, if Christ died for men—in Atonement for their sins—it could not be that He should remain permanently in the state of death. That,

¹ Heb. ix. 26. ² Matt. xx. 28; xxvi. 26–28; John iii. 14–16, etc.

³ For an interesting treatment of this whole subject, cf. Milligan, *The Resurrection of Our Lord*, Lects. IV., V. and VI.

had it been possible, would have been the frustration of the very end of His dying, for if He remained Himself a prey to death, how could He redeem others? Jesus Himself seldom spoke of His death without coupling it with the prediction of His Resurrection.¹ St. Peter in Acts assumes it as self-evident that it was not possible that death should hold Him.² St. Paul constantly speaks of the Resurrection as the necessary sequel of the Crucifixion, and directly connects it with justification.³ The further point—that a complete Redemption of man includes the redemption of the body—is dwelt upon below.

ii. *As the Father's seal* on Christ's completed work, and public declaration of its *acceptance*. Had Christ remained a prey to death, where would have been the knowledge, the certainty, the assurance that full Atonement had indeed been made, that the Father had accepted that holy work on behalf of our sinful race, that the foundation of perfect reconciliation between God and man had indeed been laid? With the Resurrection a public demonstration was given, not only, as before, of Christ's divine Sonship and Messiahship, but of the Father's perfect satisfaction with, and full acceptance of the whole work of Christ as man's Saviour, but peculiarly His work as Atoner for sin, expressed in such words as "Christ died for the ungodly,"⁴ "Who His own self bare our sins in His body upon the tree."⁵ It is this which leads St. Paul to connect the assurance of justification—of forgiveness, of freedom from all condemnation—with faith in the Resurrection.⁶ The ground of acceptance was the obedience unto death upon the Cross, but it was the Resurrection which gave the joyful confidence that the work had accomplished its result.

¹ Matt. xvi. 21; xvii. 23; xx. 19; John x. 17, 18, etc.

² Acts ii. 24.

³ Rom. iv. 25.

⁴ Rom. v. 6.

⁵ 1 Pet. ii. 24.

⁶ Rom. iv. 24, 25; viii. 35; x. 9.

iii. As the entrance of Christ on a new life as the *risen and exalted Head* of His Church and *universal Lord*. The Resurrection of Jesus is everywhere viewed as the commencement of His Exaltation. Resurrection, Ascension, Exaltation to the throne of universal dominion go together as parts of the same transaction.¹ St. Paul, in Acts, connects the Resurrection with the words of the second Psalm, "Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee."² But the Resurrection, as the New Testament writers likewise testify, was a change of *state*—from the temporal to the eternal, from humiliation to glory, above all, from a condition which had to do with sin, and the taking away of sin, to one which is "apart from sin" (*χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας*),³ and is marked by the plenitude of spiritual power. This is a prevailing view in St. Paul and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. "The death that He died," says the former, "He died unto sin once: but the life that He liveth, He liveth unto God."⁴ "The last Adam became a life-giving Spirit."⁵ "When He had made purification of sins," says the latter, He "sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high."⁶ "Having been made perfect, He became unto all them that obey Him the author of eternal salvation."⁷ "He, when He had offered one sacrifice for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God, from henceforth expecting till His enemies be made the footstool of His feet."⁸ A priest "after the power of an endless life."⁹ With His Exaltation is connected the gift of the Spirit. "Being

¹ Cf. e.g. Rom. viii. 34; Eph. i. 20-22; iii. 9, 10; Heb. iv. 14; x. 12; 1 Pet. iii. 21-2. On this ground Harnack argues against the separation of the Ascension from the Resurrection in the Creed (*Das Apost. Glaubensbekenntniss*, p. 25). But cf. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, pp. 64 ff.).

² Acts xiii. 33.

³ Heb. ix. 28.

⁴ Rom. vi. 10.

⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 45.

⁶ Heb. i. 3.

⁷ Heb. v. 9.

⁸ Heb. x. 12, 13.

⁹ Heb. vii. 16.

therefore," said St. Peter, "by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, He hath poured forth this, which ye see and hear."¹ On this view of Jesus as having died to sin, and risen in power to a new life with God, and having become the principle of spiritual quickening to His people, is based what is sometimes spoken of as St. Paul's "mystical" doctrine of the union of believers with Christ. Through faith, and symbolically in baptism, the Christian dies with Christ to sin—is thenceforth done with it as something put away and belonging to the past—and rises with Him in spiritual power to newness of life.² Christ lives in him by His Spirit.³ He is risen with Christ, and shares a life the spring of which is hid with Christ in God.⁴ Is it possible to review such testimonies without realizing how tremendous is the significance attached in Apostolic Christianity to this fact of the Resurrection?

(2) A further aspect of the doctrinal significance of the Resurrection is opened when it is observed that the Resurrection is not simply the completion of Christ's redemptive work, but, in one important particular, itself sheds light on the *nature* of that redemption. It does so inasmuch as it gives its due place to the *body* of man in the constitution of his total personality. Man is a compound being. The body as well as the soul enters into the complete conception of his nature. The redemption of the whole man, therefore, includes, as St. Paul phrases it, "the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body."⁵ From this point of view it may be said that the Resurrection was essential in that the redemption of man meant the redemption of

¹ Acts ii. 33. Cf. Christ's own promises, John xiv. 16, 26; xv. 26; xvi. 7.

² Rom. vi. 3-11.

³ Rom. viii. 9-11; Gal. i. 20.

⁴ Col. iii. 1-3.

⁵ Rom. viii. 23.

his whole personality, body and soul together. A mere *spiritual* survival of Christ—an “immortality of the soul” only—would not have been sufficient. This is a consideration which has its roots deep in the Scripture doctrine of man, and has important bearings on the subject of resurrection.

It was remarked earlier that the Christian doctrine of immortality is not simply that of a survival of death, and future state of existence of the *soul*. The spiritual part of man is indeed that in which his God-like qualities reveal themselves—in which he bears the stamp of the divine image. It is the seat of his rational, moral, self-conscious, personal life. It is that which proves him to be more than a being of nature—a transient bubble on the heaving sea of physical change, and proclaims his affinity with the Eternal. Idealism emphasizes this side of man's nature, and almost forgets that there is another equally real. For, if man is a spiritual existence, he appears not less as the crown of nature's development, and as bound by a thousand ties through a finely-adjusted bodily organization to the physical and animal world from which he has emerged. Naturalism, in turn, lays stress on the latter side of his being, and is tempted to ignore the former. It explains man as a product of physical forces, and treats immortality as a chimera. A true view of man's nature will embrace both sides. It will acknowledge the spiritual dignity of man, but will recognize that he is not, and was never intended to be, pure spirit; that he is likewise a denizen of the natural world endowed with corporeity, residing in, and acting through a body which is as truly a part of *himself* as life or soul itself is. He is, in short, the preordained link between two worlds—the natural and the spiritual; and has relation in his personality to both. He is not spirit simply, but incorporated spirit.

If this is a true view to take of man's nature—and it is held here to be the Biblical view,¹ it directly affects the ideas to be formed of death and immortality. Death, in the case of such a being, however it may be with the animal, can never be a merely natural event. Body and soul—integral elements in man's personality—cannot be sundered without mutilation and loss to the spiritual part. The dream that death is an emancipation of the spiritual essence from a body that imprisons and clogs it, and is in itself the entrance on a freer, larger life, belongs to the schools, not to Christianity. The disembodied state is never presented in Scripture—Old Testament or New—as other than one of incomplete being—of enfeebled life, diminished powers, restricted capacities of action. “Sheol,” “Hades,” is not the abode of true immortality. It follows that salvation from a state of sin which has brought man under the law of death must include deliverance from this incomplete condition. It must include deliverance from Sheol—“the redemption of the body.” The Redeemer must be One who holds “the keys of death and of Hades.”² It must embrace resurrection.

In a previous chapter it was hinted that this is probably the proper direction in which to look for the origin of the Biblical idea of resurrection, and of the form which the hope of immortality assumed in the Old Testament. The believing relation to God is felt to carry in it the pledge of deliverance even from Sheol, and of a restored and perfected life in God's presence. It is significant that Jesus quotes the declaration, “I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob”³ in proof, not

¹ The subject is more fully treated by the present writer in his *Christian View of God and the World*, Lect. V., with Appendix, and *God's Image in Man*, Lect. VI.

² Rev. i. 18.

³ Matt. xxii. 23.

simply of the continued subsistence of the patriarchs in some state of being, but of the resurrection of the dead. The late Dr. A. B. Davidson unexceptionably states the point in the following words of his *Commentary on Job*. "The human spirit," he says, "is conscious of fellowship with God, and this fellowship, from the nature of God, is a thing imperishable, and, in spite of obscurations, it must yet be fully manifested by God. This principle, grasped with convulsive earnestness in the prospect of death, became the Hebrew doctrine of immortality. This doctrine was but the necessary corollary of religion. In this life the true relations of men to God were felt to be realized; and the Hebrew faith of immortality—never a belief in the mere existence of the soul after death, for the lowest superstition assumed this—was a faith that the dark and mysterious event of death would not interrupt the life of the person with God, enjoyed in this world. . . . The doctrine of immortality in the book [of Job] is the same as that of other parts of the Old Testament. Immortality is the corollary of religion. If there be religion—that is, if God be—there is immortality, not of the soul, but of the whole personal being of man (Ps. xvi. 9). This teaching of the whole Old Testament is expressed by our Lord with a surprising incisiveness in two sentences, 'I am the God of Abraham, God is not the God of the dead but the God of the living.'"¹

How essential the Resurrection of Jesus is as an integral part of a doctrine of Redemption will appear from such considerations without further comment.

(3) A last aspect, intimately connected with the foregoing, in which the doctrinal significance of the Resurrection is perceived, is in its relation to the *believer's own hope* of resurrection. This is the point of view from which the

¹ *Com. on Job*, Appendix, pp. 293-5.

Resurrection is treated in that great pæan of resurrection hope—the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians. Christ's Resurrection is the ground and pledge of the resurrection of believers. If Christ has not risen, neither can they rise. The Christian dead have perished.¹ So completely does St. Paul bind up survival after death with the hope of resurrection that, in the denial of the latter, he apparently feels the ground to be taken from the former as well. Immortality, with him, for the Christian, is "incorruption"²—victory over death in body as in soul. In Christ's Resurrection, the assurance of that victory is given. "But now hath Christ been raised, the firstfruits of them that are asleep . . . Christ the firstfruits: then they that are Christ's, at His coming."³ This sheds again a broad, clear light on the nature of the Christian's hope of immortality. It is no mere futurity of existence—no mere ghostly persistence after death. It is an immortality of positive life, of holiness, of blessedness, of glory, of perfected likeness to Christ in body, soul and spirit.⁴ It is here that the thought of resurrection helps, for once more the Redemption of Christ is seen to be a redemption of the whole man—body and soul together.

The difficulties which present themselves on the subject of the resurrection of the body are, of course, manifold, and cannot be ignored. The difficulty is greater even than in the case of Jesus, for there Resurrection took place within three days, in a body which had not seen corruption. But the bodies of the generations of the Christian dead have utterly perished. How is resurrection possible for them? The Apostle does indeed speak of the bodies of those who are alive at the Parousia being "changed."⁵

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 18.

² 1 Cor. xv. 42, 52-4; 2 Tim. i. 10.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 20, 23.

⁴ Phil. iii. 20-21; cf. 1 John iii. 2.

⁵ 1 Cor. xv. 51-2; 1 Thess. iv. 15-18.

But this obviously leaves untouched the case of the vast majority who have died "in faith" in the interval.

The subject is full of mystery. The error lies in conceiving of the resurrection of the body of the Christian as necessarily the raising again of the very material form that was deposited in the grave. This, though the notion has been defended, loads the doctrine of the resurrection with a needless weight, and is not required by anything contained in Scripture. St. Paul, indeed, using the analogy of the seed-corn, says expressly: "Thou sowest not the body that shall be. . . . But God giveth it a body as it pleased Him."¹ There is here identity between the old self and the new even as regards the body. But it is not identity of the same material substance. In truth, as has often been pointed out, the identity of our bodies, even on earth, does not consist in sameness of material particles. The matter in our bodies is continually changing: in the course of a few years has entirely changed. The bond of identity is in something deeper, in the abiding organizing principle which serves as the thread of connexion amidst all changes. That endures, is not allowed to be destroyed at death; and stamps its individuality and all it inherits from the old body upon the new.

Questions innumerable doubtless may be asked which it is not possible to answer. How, for example, can a body so transformed as to be called "spiritual" yet retain the true character of a "body"? What place is there for "body" in a spiritual realm at all? No place, assuredly, for the body of "flesh" (σάρξ); but for a body (σῶμα) of another kind, there not only may be, but, if Jesus has passed into the heavens, there *is*, place. "There are also," the Apostle says, "celestial bodies, and bodies terres-

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 37-8.

trial.”¹ Such a body, adapted to celestial conditions, will be the resurrection body of the believer. Even already a hidden tie connects this future resurrection-body with the Resurrection life of the Redeemer. For the production of this body the possession of the Spirit of the Risen Lord is necessary. On the other hand, where that Spirit is present, the forces for the production of the resurrection-body are at work—conceivably the basis of it is being already laid within the body that now is. Hardly less seems to be the meaning of the Apostle’s words: “If Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies through His Spirit that dwelleth in you.”²

In conclusion, the Resurrection of Jesus stands fast as a fact, unaffected by the boastful waves of scepticism that ceaselessly through the ages beat themselves against it; retains its significance as a corner-stone in the edifice of human redemption; and holds within it the vastest hope for time and for eternity that humanity can ever know.

“Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, according to His great mercy, begat us again unto a living hope, by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead, unto an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.”³

JAMES ORR.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 40. The remarks on this subject in Stewart and Tait’s book, *The Unseen Universe*, are worth consulting as coming from men of scientific eminence. Cf. pp. 26–7, but specially pp. 157–163.

² Rom. viii. 10, 11.

³ 1 Pet. i. 3, 4.

THE DATE OF THE EXODUS.

IN his series of articles dealing with the people of Israel before the conquest of Canaan by Joshua, which always interests even when it fails to convince, Professor Eerdmans has attempted ¹ to revise the date of the Exodus in such a manner as to bring it a century nearer to our own time; and this he does not by any alteration of the Egyptian chronology, but by transferring the Exodus itself from its accepted date in the reign of Merenptah to the time of the later Ramesside kings of the Twentieth Dynasty. It remains to be seen, however, how far the new date will appeal to Biblical chronologers, and whether it may not be possible to establish an effective defence for the commonly received chronology.

It is certain that the usual date can boast of long acceptance. It is no mere critical conjecture of modern scholars, nor any discredited tradition of doubtful authority. It goes back for more than two thousand years to the direct testimony of Manetho, and it claims the adhesion and support of nearly all eminent Egyptologists from Manetho himself to Flinders Petrie. It is remarkable too that as the years go by, the authority of Manetho is held in ever increasing estimation, and in this particular instance it seems to have every confirmation from recent research; and as the store cities of Egypt gradually yield their secrets to the spade, it seems to be increasingly borne in upon us that Ramesses II. was indeed the Pharaoh of the Oppression, and his son Merenptah that of the Exodus. Let us see exactly how the matter stands; and first of all let us look at it in the light of the received chronology.

Merenptah was the thirteenth son of Ramesses II. He

¹ EXPOSITOR, September, 1908.

had become heir to the crown on the death of his brother Khaemuas in the fifty-fifth year of his father's reign, his father being then seventy-two and Merenptah forty-six. I have stated elsewhere¹ my reasons for dating the reign of Ramesses II. from B.C. 1318 to B.C. 1252. In the latter of these years Merenptah succeeded to the throne, being by now about fifty-eight years old. The length of his reign has been variously stated, different versions of Manetho attributing to him a reign of eight, nineteen and a half, twenty, or even forty years. *In medio tutissimus*. Chronologists have generally preferred the two middle numbers. The evidence of the monuments, however, is in favour of the shortest estimate. Full and clear runs the inscriptional record from his first year to the eighth. Then it ceases. We may assume, then, that the number eight, given in the Armenian version of Eusebius, represents the true length of the reign; and if there be any value at all in the readings nineteen and a half or twenty (there is certainly none in that of forty) they must apparently be reckoned from the death of Khaemuas rather than from that of Ramesses. But stronger evidence even than the significant silence of the monuments is at hand. It is recorded² that a certain Bakenkhonsu was an official of Ramesses II. at the age of eighty-six, and that he survived till the reign of Ramesses III. Now if we assign Merenptah so long a reign as nineteen years, Bakenkhonsu's life must needs be stretched out to 114 years. This seems to verge on the impossible, and should no doubt be rejected. If, on the other hand, we yield to the silence of the monuments and the testimony of Eusebius, and limit Merenptah's reign to eight years, we see at once how this Bakenkhonsu might just survive, as a very old man just past the century, till the accession of Ramesses

¹ *Chronology of the Old Testament* (Deighton, Bell), 1906.

² Petrie, *History of Egypt*, vol. iii., pp. 2, 165.

III. and the Twentieth Dynasty. We may take it then for the present that Merenptah reigned for eight years from B.C. 1252 to B.C. 1244, and that he died at the age of sixty-six.

The reign of Ramesses II., the Pharaoh of the Oppression, had been long and prosperous. But its close was clouded by war and by the pressure of alien tribes on the north of Egypt and on the cultivated land of the Delta. These aliens included both Libyans from the West and Canaanites (using the term in its widest sense) from the East. If the Israelites were at that time dwelling in the land of Goshen, it is easy to see how readily they might associate themselves with the aliens rather than with the Egyptians, how readily indeed they might look to the invader for relief from their Egyptian bondage. As a matter of fact this is precisely what occurred.

The ancient empire of Memphis, the Egypt of the Pyramids, had long since disappeared, and the capital of the newer Egypt of the Nineteenth Dynasty lay far to the South. Lower Egypt, in fact, counting from the arrival of the Hyksos, had been continually liable to the irruption or actual occupation of foreigners for a period of about 800 years. Their presence there must have been as much a commonplace of politics as that of the Moors in Spain during the Middle Ages or of the Turks in the Balkan Peninsula to-day. Still the feeling remained that the land was Egypt's, and that the alien must sooner or later be expelled. The alien monarchy of Shepherd Kings had been overthrown, but the pressure was becoming acute once more and called for decisive measures. Merenptah hesitated for some years to strike; but when the blow came, it was with terrific force and called for no repeating.

The account of the campaign may be read either in Manetho or on the monuments. If we turn to Manetho as

reported by Josephus,¹ we find ourselves reading the story of certain "leprous folk." The word Leper, no doubt, contains the suggestion of a taint of something un-Egyptian in blood or in character, and is used as a term of reproach ; and Josephus, though visibly stung by the unworthy insult, has no difficulty in seeing that by "Leper" Manetho meant "Jews." Remembering this we have no difficulty in understanding the story. It is the story of the oppression and the Exodus as seen from an Egyptian point of view. Probably it is no less historical than the more familiar story of the same events told by the Jewish writers from their different standing. We learn from Manetho, though indeed we might find it just as easily in the Pentateuch, that religious bitterness was added to international jealousy, and that Amenophis (the Greek equivalent of Merenptah), in order to win the favour of the gods, was urged to clear the whole country of the "lepers" and other impure people. The king was pleased with this injunction and got them together to the number of eighty thousand, and so set them to work in the quarries that lay on the east side of the Nile. We are told too how certain of the learned priests were polluted with this leprosy (were "pro-Hebrews" in fact); how the city of Avaris was set apart for their habitation, "but when these men were gotten into it, and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed unto themselves a ruler out of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name was Osarsiph, and they took their oaths that they would be obedient unto him." Osarsiph was a religious lawgiver as well as a political leader ; but lest there should be any doubt whatever as to his identification Manetho goes on to say : "It was also reported that the priest, who ordained their polity and laws, was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name Osarsiph, from Osiris, the god of Heliopolis ; but that when he was

¹ *Apion*, i. 26.

gone over to this people, his name was changed, and he was called Moses.”¹ What is there lacking? Here we have Moses learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians,² of priestly training, but of doubtful birth, and the leader of what the Egyptians no doubt called treason, and the Jews considered religious and national emancipation. Manetho adds the important information that a tribe of aliens came and occupied the land for thirteen years, and so rendered valuable assistance to the “polluted wretches.” This is precisely confirmed by the monuments, which show how, during the latter years of Ramesses II. and the opening years of Merenptah, the irruption of desert tribes from Libya and Canaan devastated the Delta and destroyed the security of life and property in Lower Egypt. But the plagues of the Egyptians were a blessing to the Jews. If the Nile ran red with blood, it was Egyptian blood and not Semitic; if the hordes of the desert descended like locusts on the crops and wasted the land with fire and tempest, the crops in the land of Goshen were protected. But I will not press this fanciful interpretation of the plagues. It is enough to know that the plain history, allowing for the standpoints of the two nations, is in perfect harmony in each of the two accounts.

In the fifth year of his reign Merenptah struck his blow for the deliverance of Egypt. He had no need to strike twice. The Egyptian army was mobilized at Prosopis on the 14th of Payni (April 10), and after a rapid march came into contact with the enemy on the 1st of Epiphi (April 27). It was at the time of the New Moon—three nights of darkness and three days of war. The general engagement took place on the 3rd of Epiphi (April 29) and ended in the utter rout of the invaders. The victory, as at Cressy and at Agincourt, went to the archers; but Petrie is no doubt right in

¹ Whiston.

² Acts vii. 22.

comparing it rather to the effect of the rifle fire and shrapnel of a civilized army when opposing the wild rushes of an undisciplined enemy. At all events the victory was signal and complete. The Libyans and their allies were driven across the frontier. Eastward and westward the vengeful pursuit of the Egyptians followed them, Canaan and Libya alike felt the force of the blow.

So far all seems to be clear. Now we come to that part of the inscription that troubles Professor Eerdmans. He quotes some of the closing words in the September number of the EXPOSITOR. It is rather a pity that he did not quote a little more; but of that I am not justly entitled to complain, since in my own chronology I quoted rather less. Here is the conclusion of the matter:¹ "Devastated in Tehenu (Libya): Kheta (the land of the Hittites) is quieted, Canaan is seized with every evil: Led away is Askelon: Taken is Gezer: Yenuam is brought to nought: The people of Israel is laid waste, their crops are not: Kharu (Palestine) has become as a widow by Egypt."

It is the one mention of Israel on all the Egyptian monuments. How comes Israel to be mentioned at all? Obviously, one would think, because the Israelites, being in virtual or actual revolt against Pharaoh, under the leadership of Moses, found themselves in natural and inevitable alliance with the Libyan and Semitic invaders of Egypt. No doubt there were Israelites in the Libyan army, just as there was a "mixed multitude" in the Israelite retreat. Why, then, need Professor Eerdmans say, "Here Israel is evidently part of the population of the Karu"? Why of the Karu, which lay to the east, rather than of the Tehenu on the west? Is it not rather clear that we are dealing with a conglomerate host drawn from all the countries on the seaboard of this south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean,

¹ See Petrie's *History of Egypt*, vol. iii., p. 114.

only to be shattered by an Egyptian army descending like a thunderbolt from the inland regions of the Upper Nile?

It is important to notice the time of year. Doubtless the movement was designed, and it was certainly carried out with remarkable skill, in order that the blow might fall in time to secure the harvest for the Egyptians. The immediate success of the Egyptian arms shows at once how the crops of Goshen and the Delta were lost to the Hebrews. A parallel to the Egyptian monument is found in the Elohist story of the Exodus.¹ "They were thrust out of Egypt and could not tarry, neither had they prepared for themselves any victual." That the pursuit was carried into Palestine is certain; but if any Israelites dwelt there, they were not under the leadership of Moses, and they had no part in the Exodus. Moses evaded the pursuit by turning unexpectedly southward towards Sinai instead of northward to Canaan, and apparently witnessed the discomfiture of a section of the victorious army that pressed too hotly or too rashly on his rear.

Now the Passover was the Feast of the Firstfruits. At the present time the harvest in the Delta begins very early in May.² If we express our dates in terms of the Julian Calendar, it would be later in the thirteenth century B.C. But in any case the coincidence of the Feast of Passover with the Exodus, or Expulsion, of the Jews shows how successful Merenptah was in seizing the harvest for himself. A full moon had occurred on March 15.³ The crops were then growing, and the Egyptian army had not as yet been mobilized. The Hebrews and their allies were unaware of the impending blow. Another Full Moon occurred on April 14.

¹ Exodus xii. 39.

² Petrie, *Ibid.*

³ Julian Calendar, equivalent to March 5 in the more accurate Gregorian Calendar. For the dates cf. Guinness' *Creation Centred in Christ, Astronomical Appendix.*

Still the crops were unripe, but the Egyptian army was on the march. The battle took place at the New Moon that ushered in the month of Abib and the Hebrew new year. From the defeat there was no recovery; and by the light of the Full Moon following (May 13 B.C. 1247) Moses and Israel fled from the land of Egypt with their families and their flocks and everything that could be removed. Their ripened but unharvested crops were left unwillingly behind. Yet a great commander's skill may be shown as much in the hour of defeat as in that of victory. The Exodus was not lacking in elements of dignity and even of grandeur, and the salvation of Israel was duly accomplished.

Surely we have here such a convergence of testimony from all sources—Exodus, Manetho, the monuments, the institution of Passover, the tropical seasons of the year, the thrice-told tale from widely different ages and opposing points of view—that doubt can be no longer possible either as to the true sequence of events or the true interpretation of our records.

DAVID ROSS FOTHERINGHAM.

*G. A. SMITH AND S. MERRILL ON JERUSALEM.*¹

THE year 1908 will be memorable to students of Palestinian topography for the appearance within a few months of two great treatises on Jerusalem, both of them by writers of rare competence. Dr. Smith's qualifications are beyond eulogy ; for the historical treatment of geography there is no safer nor more delightful guide. Mr. Merrill states on his title-page that he held the office of U.S.A. Consul at Jerusalem for sixteen years, and dedicates his work to Dr. Smith, Sir Charles Warren, and the memory of Sir Charles Wilson, who, he says, urged him to put his notes into permanent shape. Both books are marked by familiar acquaintance with the places which they describe and the controversies that are connected with their identification.

Dr. Smith's treatise carries both history and geography a little beyond the Gospel narrative ; to the War of Independence, which brought about the final (or nearly final) downfall of the Jewish state, he has some allusions, but devotes no continuous study. In Mr. Merrill's work, on the other hand, the operations of the Romans occupy a large portion of the space. He works backwards from the period for which we have the most accurate descriptions of ancient Jerusalem. The Scottish writer devotes a whole volume to a continuous history of the city, which might be called a Bible History, since from the time of David the interest is in the main concentrated on the Jewish capital. His other volume treats very fully of the topography and—a less familiar subject—the internal economy

¹ *Jerusalem : the Topography, Economics and History from the earliest times to A.D. 70*, by George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D. London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1907-8.

Ancient Jerusalem : by Selah Merrill. New York, Fleming H. Revell Co., 1908.

of the ancient city. On the whole we should describe Dr. Smith's treatise as a *Lehrbuch*, Mr. Merrill's as a monograph, intended for those who are already interested in and have some knowledge of the subject.

Has the earnest and indefatigable study that has been devoted to the topography of Jerusalem produced any definite results, or have we to deal with questions like the Authorship of the Fourth Gospel and the mutual relation of the Synoptics, in which the "swing of the pendulum" seems as noticeable as it is in the parliamentary institutions of this country? That is the question which will suggest itself to the reader of these volumes; and it is to be feared that the answer which they will offer will come nearer the latter than the former of these alternatives. The sixth chapter of Dr. Smith's first volume, after a careful examination of different opinions, leads up to the assertion that "the topographical evidence from the present surface, and still more from excavations, tends wholly to the conclusion that" the City of David "lay upon Ophel." "The tradition that Sion lay on the site of the present Citadel is associated with and dependent on the other that the Spring Gihon lay in the head of the Wâdy er-Rabâbi; but we have seen that Gihon is undoubtedly the same as the Virgin's Spring in the Kedron Valley." Evidently, then, we can congratulate ourselves that two controversies are closed—till we turn to Mr. Merrill's volume, where we find some thirty pages (many of them in the form of a Socratic dialogue) of which the purpose is to reduce to absurdity the propositions which Dr. Smith regards as undoubted. We may produce a specimen:—

What is really at stake that certain writers should contend so earnestly for the Ophel ridge theory of the City of David?

A. It is difficult to say. Apparently no serious question is involved, while the contradictions and difficulties are so many and of such a character as to make its validity questionable.

Suppose, however, that in process of time this theory should be established as true, what would follow ?

A. Certain things which are most improbable and which have never been true of any city in the world.

When these improbabilities are enumerated, it must be confessed that they make no very great show. They are all developments of the first : "in rebuilding the city it was so changed as to be totally unlike the original." To prove that this had never happened in the case of any city would be an exceedingly difficult task. So much depends on the length of time during which the city lay in ruins, and the archaeological interest of the rebuilders. Improbability *g* in particular ("the very site was not only obliterated but forgotten") does not appear at all formidable to one who thinks of the transference of city-names sometimes many miles from the original site. Sprenger put together some facts bearing on this question, and thought that the transference of the name Babylon from the ancient capital to Baghdad was perhaps the most distant which history exhibited.

Nevertheless the comparison between the arguments adduced by the two writers is highly instructive, and reveals the difficulty of interpreting the verses on which the mutually destructive theories rest. The chief authority is the Chronicler, who seems to know most about Gihon ; according to Dr. Smith's translation "the waters of the Upper Gihon were sealed, and directed down *westwards* to the City of David" (2 Chron. xxxii. 30). This translation seems objectionable on two grounds. In the next line he translates 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 14, "he built an outer wall to the City of David, *west of* Gihon," where the original has precisely the same phrase. Either we must render "west of" in both places, or "west to" in both places. Now by no straining of the conscience can we make Siloam

west of the City of David, according to Dr. Smith's map. Yet if we render the words consistently, one or other of these passages implies that it was. The other objection is that the rendering of the Revised Version, "he stopped the upper spring [rather outlet] of the waters of Gihon," is very much more natural than "the waters of the Upper Gihon." Gihon is thought of as a spring with two issues or channels, an upper and a lower. The upper being dammed, the water is all forced into the lower. This flows downwards to the west of the City of David. This may or may not have been the same operation as that described in xxxii. 4, "they stopped all the fountains and the brook that ran through the midst of the land."

It does not make matters any easier that in the other place where Gihon is mentioned (1 Kings i. 33) it is clearly *below* the City of David, since Solomon has to be brought down thither. If the waters of Gihon had to be directed *down* to the city by Hezekiah, it would follow that they were not below it in the time of David.

Mr. Merrill's discussion is to prove that the Gihon of the Chronicler is the Birket Mamilla, well to the west of Jerusalem. It seems, however, to the present writer that he is involved in difficulties at least equal to those encountered by Dr. Smith. The "brook that ran through the midst of the land" he identifies with the Tyropoean (*sic*) valley, suggesting, however, that for "land" we should emend "city." Hezekiah, we are told, with a great multitude dammed up this stream, to prevent the Assyrians using the water when they invaded the country. The operation is coupled with the "sealing of springs," which the Arabs call the blinding of wells, i.e., filling them so as to prevent the enemy from getting at the water. Hence any interpretation which puts the brook *inside* the city violates the context, and substitutes for an operation which, however

impracticable, would be advantageous to the besieged, one which would only benefit the besieger.

In both writers' treatment of this question the reader will feel that several weak arguments have been introduced, probably owing to the difficulty of obtaining strong ones. The etymological arguments adduced by Dr. Smith (i. 104, 107) seem unsatisfactory. "The *Shiloah* or *Shilloah* is a passive form, and means the 'sent' or 'conducted.' " Now this passive sense of the form *kaṭṭāl* seems to be found only in the word *yillôd*: everywhere else it indicates habitual activity. Its meaning, then, is probably "discharger" or "spout."¹ "The name *Gihon*, derived from a verb meaning 'to burst' or 'bubble forth,' exactly suits the intermittent violent action of the Virgin's Spring, and may be compared with the Arabic *El-Fûwarah* [read *Fawwârah*], 'the Bubbler.' " The comparison with the Arabic *Jaiḥân* and *Jaiḥûn* rather suggests that *Gihon* was merely an old word for "river." Dr. Smith proceeds: "That it is called *Gihon* the Upper is of course due to the fact that in the Chronicler's day the water issuing from the end of the tunnel would be known as the lower *Gihon*. And in fact the connexion of *Gihon* with the *Shiloah* is from this time onwards a close one. The Targum gives *Shilloah* or *Shillôḥâ* as an equivalent for *Gihon*, and both D. Kimchi and Rashi take them as identical." *Pace tanti viri* the arguments in this passage seem scarcely able to bear the conclusion. The mediaeval French Rabbis are merely *noughts* added to the decimal of the Targum: the Targum itself is here identical with the Peshittâ. Apparently, then, all that can be said is that the Aramaic version of the Old Testament in one place substitutes (or reads)

¹ I suspect that this word is connected with *سلح*, not like the other *שלח*, with *سوح*.

Siloah for Gihon—which is not quite the same as Dr. Smith's conclusion.

As between the two eminent topographers there seems on this point to be a drawn battle. Of so considerable a work as the Tunnel there ought to be some mention or reminiscence in the Old Testament; and this is to be found either in the account of Hezekiah's operations (2 Kings xx. 20), or nowhere. On the other hand, it is strange that the name by which the Tunnel designates itself (*nikbâh*) is not found in the Jewish record, and Mr. Merrill seems to be right in asserting that the word there used (*t*' 'âlâh) does not mean tunnel, but aqueduct or channel.

Jesus Siracides (the real author, not the Cairene *Machwerk*) seems to interpret Hezekiah's work as a tunnelling operation (xlvi. 17), but calls the water *introduced into the midst* of the city "the Gog." The metre¹ shows that the word is correctly given in the Greek translation; since the suggestion that it is the Greek ἀγῶγος (afterwards borrowed by the Aramaic dialects), though ingenious, seems to involve an anachronism, the work identified by this writer with Hezekiah's probably had that name in the former's time; it would be equivalent to "the Giant." The Chronicler (who was unknown to Jesus Siracides) apparently is unacquainted with this name, but has his own theory of the nature of the work, which need not be identical either with the Siracide's or with that intended by the author of the Kings. If therefore the position of the City of David is to be determined by that of Hezekiah's operations, it must remain uncertain.

The chapter in Dr. Smith's work which deals with the site of David's city certainly contains many arguments for the Ophel site that stand apart from the water question. Whether the reader be satisfied with his conclusions or

not, his history of the employment of the various names will be acknowledged to be masterly. The point at which the tradition is likely to have broken with regard to the location of David's city seems to be satisfactorily fixed, and due weight is given to the assertion of Josephus that levelling on a vast scale was carried out in Maccabaeae times. The statements which may evoke criticism seem to refer to points of minor importance. Such are some that concern the etymology of words. *Ophel* is identified, apparently without hesitation, with a medical term so indelicate in character that the Jews in reading the Bible substitute another for it wherever it occurs. It is not quite easy to suppose that the Jerusalemites called a part of their city by such a word. Perhaps, then, this *Ophel* should rather be identified with the Arabic *ghufl*, which means either no man's land, or land on which there are no buildings or marks. It is used in the Prophet's treaty with the people of Duma¹ and elsewhere.² But if this identification have any chance of being right, it suggests another for Sion, viz., from *ṣuwwah*, "a landmark." What strongly favours the latter etymology (which is not new) is that this word is actually used in Arabian place-names.³ The two names will then be opposed as "the little landmark" and "the empty space."

Dr. Smith's derivation is from an Arabic word *ṣahwah*, "protuberance," and implies that the Moslem name for the hill *Ṣahyaun* preserves a pre-historic tradition. The Moslems, however, doubtless get their name from the form used in the Peshittâ, *Ṣehyun*. The question, then, is whether the Syriac version preserves a vulgar form in use among the inhabitants, which might conceivably be

¹ Balâdhutî, ed. de Goeje, p. 61.

² Harîrî, ed. de Sacy, p. 449 n.

³ Hamdânî's Geography, Index. For the use of the word see Abû Tammâm's Diwan, ed. 1, p. 58.

the original form of the name, or whether this transliteration is due to some other reason. The Syriac lexicographers tell us the word means "watchtower," and it seems that their statement is confirmed by the Arabic lexicographers, who give *ṣahwah* the meaning "a tower on the top of a hill," without, however, adducing any example, and noting the sense as "rare." This, then, makes it likely that the Syriac spelling is due to an *etymology*, like that of *Rûth* for Ruth; and it has to be regarded in that case as a plausible conjecture without having any foundation in tradition. Plausible it certainly is; and if correct might help to settle the claims of the hills very much better than the modern etymologies. Of these some have to be struck out on philological grounds; notably one mentioned by Dr. Smith from a root *ṣwn*, to protect," of which the Hebrew form is *ṣfn*.

The arguments against the Ophel theory adduced by Mr. Merrill (p. 283 and elsewhere), are mainly based on the insufficiency of the space which it occupies for the size of the city as it appears in the Biblical narratives. We may transcribe a little more of his dialogue:—

What are we to say of Solomon's horsemen, horses and chariots?

A. We suppose he had a great many, as would be perfectly natural for an Oriental monarch of wealth and power.

Is not the number mentioned altogether too great?

A. Even if we allow that there were not as many as stated, they must have been very numerous, and a place where they could be kept must be provided.

Could a place have been provided for them on the Ophel ridge?

A. We can assert that it would have been impossible.

If the Ophel ridge was Jerusalem, and Solomon's chariots and horses could not be kept there, other questions arise as:—(1) Where were they kept? (2) Did Solomon never drive into his city? (3) How far from the Ophel ridge did Solomon and his courtiers, or his queen and her attendants have to walk before they could enter their carriages when going on a pleasure drive?

A. Such puzzling questions cannot be answered.

One might almost wish they had never been asked. Another page is next spent in sympathy with Solomon's queen, who "for twenty years of her married life" would have had to put up with "the noise of thousands of hammers and the confusion of a multitude of voices," while the king's great buildings were being constructed. It is pleasant to be able to reassure Mr. Merrill on this point, on the authority of 1 Kings vi. 7 :—

Then towered the palace, then in awful state
The Temple reared its everlasting gate.
No workman steel, no ponderous axes rung :
Like some tall palm the noiseless fabric sprung.

Even, therefore, if Solomon's queen passed her married life on Ophel, she was spared this form of annoyance.

We return to the regions of dignified common sense when we examine the way in which Dr. Smith deals with the difficulty of space. He properly compares the area furnished by Ophel with that occupied by Gezer, as shown by Mr. Macalister's excavations, and finds that the difference is not great. Such evidence as is at our disposal implies that the importance of the two cities in ancient times was about equal. This sort of reasoning will, to most readers, seem more scientific than the hypothetical needs of King Solomon's queen.

It is curious that each writer finds in the theory of the other a difficulty in the want of water. "The south-west hill," says Dr. Smith, "is waterless, and lies aloof from the ancient source or sources of water in the Kidron valley"; in reply to this we have the following dialogue :—

Had the city (i.e., Ophel) a water supply?

A. So far as is known, it had not an ample supply in the way of cisterns. And if the Pool of Siloam then existed, every person from the city attempting to bring water thence would be killed. and this, from the nature of the ground, would be far more certain to be the fate of those attempting to bring water from the Fountain of the Virgin.

To make the rejoinder complete it should be added that Dr. Smith notices the want of cisterns on the South-west hill: "the rock cisterns are few compared with those of other parts of Jerusalem."

On one point there is more agreement, viz., the ease with which Ophel could be attacked from the north. Against this difficulty Dr. Smith urges the opinion of the eminent military engineers Wilson and Warren, who considered it was not insuperable. The laity will not in most cases be disposed to question their judgment on such a point.

Finally a word should be said about Mr. Merrill's theory of Ophel, to which he devotes some pages. Dr. Smith makes Ophel synonymous with Sion, and is on the whole in favour of the view that when the name Sion was removed from the part of the East hill below the Temple and applied to the Temple Mount, Ophel succeeded it in its narrower designation. Mr. Merrill makes Ophel merely a tower, originally "an adjunct to the Royal Palace, erected for the pleasure of those who lived in it, and as a public ornament as well." According to this it is incorrect to apply the term Ophel to the whole of the ridge which Dr. Smith supposes to have been the site of David's city; and it must be confessed that in 2 Chronicles xxxiii. 14 Ophel is very clearly distinguished from David's city.

To answer the question, then, with which we started—is anything now certainly known about the topography of ancient Jerusalem?—it must be admitted that there is small room for positive assertion. Research and excavation have unearthed but little in the way of sure means for identifying sites. Even the famous Siloam inscription is rightly described by Mr. Merrill as "a silent kind of inscription, omitting everything we want to know about." The place-names are ordinarily obscure, and even when a plausible etymology can be given them, it conveys little

information ; any fountain might be called a " discharger," almost any hill " a tumour." It is a fairly, yet not perfectly safe rule to suppose, unless there is distinct authority for the contrary, that each place has only one name. It is therefore surprising that neither of our topographers pays much attention to this canon. Dr. Smith does not argue " because a body of water was called Siloah, therefore it was not called Gihon " : but is satisfied with the identification of the two by an anonymous Targum, of uncertain date and place. Mr Merrill similarly writes, " It is certain that fort, castle, stronghold, City of David, Zion, Millo, all refer to one and the same thing, to one and the same place. This stronghold was pretty much all there was of Jerusalem." Similarly a Rabbi once explained that Cyrus, Darius, Ahasuerus, and Artaxerxes all meant the same person. Cuneiform inscriptions and papyri have shown him to be mistaken. Perhaps they may perform a similar service to Millo, Ophel, Zion, and the City of David.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be concluded.)

PROFESSOR MAYOR AND THE HELVIDIAN
HYPOTHESIS.

IN an article, entitled *The Helvidian versus the Epiphanian Hypothesis*, in the *EXPOSITOR* for July and August, Professor Mayor has re-stated his arguments on behalf of the former theory ; and, in so doing, has devoted considerable space to an article on the "Brethren of the Lord" which appeared in the April number of the *Church Quarterly Review*. To the criticism passed by him on the objections brought against that theory I am now, by the courtesy of the Editor, permitted to offer a reply.

At the outset Professor Mayor complains that in attempting to tie him down to a single point, I have treated him with less than justice ; but I should take this reproof more to heart had he shown greater care to state his grievance with exact fairness. I had expressed regret at the tendency among my opponents to make over-confidence in assertion serve in the place of cogency of argument ; and, as an instance, I gave the bold plea that "Tertullian is the first who distinctly asserts that the brethren were the uterine brothers of the Lord," and I went on to say that it is "apparently on the strength of this statement" that the author claims to have proved his case. It will be observed that, in reproducing this, my critic ignores the word which carries the sting in his utterance and omits the qualifying word in mine !¹ If any one will turn to the passage (p.74), he will not be unaware, I think, of a manifest desire on my part to be fair to those whom I was criticising ; and I wish that Professor Mayor had met any unintentional shortcomings of this kind by showing me how easy it is to refute another's arguments and at the same time be scrupulously fair in representing his case. So far, however,

¹ i.e. by omitting the words, "*distinctly*" and "*apparently*."

from thus heaping generous coals of fire on my head, he often shows himself at small pains to understand me and singularly careless about putting my views accurately before his readers. For instance, in reference to my account of the martyrdom of St. James, he charges me with enriching the original story by "adding to it the ascription to him of the supreme merit of virginity." But he will be hard put to it to produce any word of mine to justify this statement, which, moreover, as he ought to know very well, is in flat contradiction to my interpretation of St. Luke's phrase *Jude of James* on page 89, where I say that the most natural rendering of the words would be *Jude, son of James, the Lord's brother*. Again, and more seriously, he quite misleads his readers as to my attitude towards the question of the relative age between our Lord and the brethren. Dealing with this, he says (p. 35), "The reason that he assigns for supposing that the brothers were older than our Lord is to me very extraordinary." I can only say in reply that by far the most extraordinary thing about this is that Professor Mayor should have allowed himself so utterly to misrepresent my position. On the three previous pages I had given in numbered paragraphs four reasons which, among others, point in my judgment to the conclusion that the brethren were older than the Lord. Then in a paragraph which begins with the words "Before leaving this question," I went on to protest against the line of argument pursued by my present critic. I endeavoured to show that the picture of the Son of Man portrayed in the Gospels is by no means that of One "wanting in knowledge of the world as it was, and needing the constant care of His more practical friends" to look after Him, but of One "singularly wide awake and clear-sighted in His scrutiny of men and circumstances : marvellously alert to grasp all the conditions of a situation at a glance :

anticipating with discriminating foresight the needs and the dangers of those dependent upon Him, and as precise, as thoughtful and considerate in making provision for their safety." It was open to my critic to demonstrate that his reading of the sacred narrative is more accurate than mine, but it was hardly fair to quote words of mine as applying to the main question which in fact dealt solely with his method of dealing with it ;—an entirely different matter !

Though Professor Mayor brings to the consideration of the subject a wealth of learning which few can match, and a discursive use of which I must say tends at times to obscure the exact point at issue, his position is a simple one, and is covered—in his own words—by two propositions (p. 18) : " the scriptural evidence is conclusive in itself " : and " there is an amplitude of confirmatory evidence which we have no right to ignore." Since an examination of these propositions can only be made by traversing well-trodden ground I must crave the forbearance and patience of my readers while I review the several questions raised by them in the light of my critic's attitude to the views expressed in my essay. .

The scriptural evidence is strictly confined within narrow limits and is practically contained in eight passages of the New Testament, and these naturally subdivide themselves into three classes :—(a) Those which *primâ facie* support the theory, and upon which its case primarily rests ; (b) Those which incidentally corroborate the above ; and (c) those which raise obstacles to its acceptance. I propose to review the subject under these three heads.

(a) Three passages comprise the evidence which belongs to this class :—The Gospel of the Infancy as told (1) from Joseph's point of view in the First Gospel ; (2) from the Virgin's in the Third Gospel ; and (3) the incident recorded in St. Mark vi. 1-6 and parallel passages.

The narrative in St. Matthew's Gospel. Of this narrative I said that Professor Mayor finds in it a wider and more general inference than the author contemplated in penning it. As my clumsy diction appears to irritate my critic I am glad to be able to express the objection in the words of another.¹ "The Evangelist," he says, "is not (even by implication) comparing together the connubial relations of Joseph and Mary before and after the birth of Jesus . . . but simply affirming in the strongest possible way that Joseph" was not the father of our Lord. It is his inability or unwillingness to recognize this distinction that debars Professor Mayor from seeing what is so patent to others, viz., that his illustrations of *Michal* and *the adjournment of the debate* are no less beside the mark than are those of Pearson which he condemns: the state of the case being that while the Bishop wrecks his argument on the Scylla of an illogical illustration, the Professor runs his clean on to the Charybdis of a non-parallel one. This alone, too, can explain the light-hearted way in which he waves aside the awkward fact that, three years after the limit on which he lays such stress is passed, the narrative still speaks of the "young Child and His mother" in exactly the same way as on the day after His birth. He does not see the inconsistency of insisting on the one hand that a statement occurring in the early part of the narrative should be allowed to bear its fullest implication as to the married life of Joseph and Mary, and then on the other airily brushing aside a statement dependent on that condition with the remark that this matter is outside the writer's ken. Professor Mayor ought to see that he cannot have it both ways; he cannot both contract and widen the scope of a narrative as it suits his case. We say that in accordance with the author's explicit assertion, "Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on

¹ C. Harris in *Dictionary of Christ*, i. 235.

this wise," we shall be doing well to keep within the limits of his story and not draw conclusions from it about a wider question; Professor Mayor sees the force of this in one part of the narrative, so he should concede it to us in the other.

In order to make my point clearer I gave an account of the origin and purpose of this section of the First Gospel which so disturbed the equanimity of my critic that he had to put a kind of restraint on himself to forbear speaking harshly of me. While I am grateful for his patience I must admit that I do not understand the exact cause of his disquietude. He has read the Bishop of Birmingham's dissertation, so he must be aware, apart from my references, that I was simply following the lead of one of our foremost expositors of Holy Writ. Here are some of the sentences occurring in the essay:—*Joseph like Zacharias would have been able to write:—It is only natural to suppose that he would have left behind him some document, clearing up by his own testimony the circumstances of the birth of Jesus:—His testimony would have been imperatively needed:—This document he must, we should suppose, have given to Mary to vindicate by means of it when occasion demanded her own virginity.*¹ Of this simple account of the human element in the Divine narrative Professor Mayor exclaims, "What a strange fancy that one who had such proofs of God's protecting providence should have supposed that a memorandum from himself was required to guard his wife's honour, or could have dreamt that an affidavit signed by him would have had the effect of shielding her from the aspersions which were afterwards cast upon her!" But why, it may be asked in reply, should not Joseph have thought that no word of God is of private interpretation, and that the story of protecting providence which had made the

¹ Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 28.

Divine scheme plain to himself was meant to be handed on to quiet the doubts and perplexities of men no less God-fearing than himself? And would it not be more to the point if my critic would put us right by giving some other more reasonable account of how this remarkable story came into the hands of the author of the First Gospel?

The narrative of the Virgin Mother as told by St. Luke.

In this likewise three questions are in dispute between us.

(1) In common with many of our ablest scholars, whose impartiality is above suspicion, I pleaded that the true meaning of the word *πρωτότοκος* should be sought in the tone of the narrative, which is intensely Hebraic throughout, and therefore favours a liturgical rather than a numerical significance. For insisting on this I am dubbed a man of "a highly liturgical mind, who holds fast to phrases and formulas, and cares little to penetrate to the underlying thoughts and facts." But who in this case is more content with the surface of things; the man who says that because a babe is called *the firstborn*, therefore a fifth and sixth is to be expected later, or the one who hears in the word the cry of a devout mother's joy, "I have gotten a man from the Lord; and I must show my gratitude in His own God-appointed way"?

He further reminds me that part of our Lord's work, as of St. Paul after Him, was to do away with the "liturgical values of His time." With regard to which I would say, Yes, so far as our Lord is concerned; but He came *to fulfil, not to destroy*. With regard to St. Paul, my critic forgets that in Dr. Sanday's opinion it is the non-Pauline tone of this narrative which postulates an early pre-Lucan date for it.¹ And generally, I do not see how the mental attitude of a man of thirty years, still less of his disciple twenty years later, could have any bearing whatever on

¹ *Critical Questions*, p. 134.

his mother's choice of words in telling the story of his birth.

(2) My objection that Blessed Mary, under the conditions involved in this theory, could hardly have gone to Jerusalem every year as mentioned by St. Luke, is met in the following terms :—"Of course such a custom does not imply an iron rule which allows no exception. We have a parallel in the story of Hannah. We are told thrice over that she and her husband Elkanah and all his house used to go up yearly to sacrifice at Shiloh; but we read that Hannah refused to go up during the time (probably three years) which elapsed between the birth and the weaning of Samuel." I agree that we not only have a parallel case, but that probably the story, if not the practice, is designedly fashioned on it; but I also think that it is by no means favourable to my critic. For how would the rule and exception work out in this case? A period of nine years intervened between the arrival at Nazareth and the Holy Child's twelfth birthday, during which time four or five children would have been born; on the lowest computation, therefore, we may safely say that fully six years out of the nine would have necessitated Mary's departure from her rule. Whether this is to be accepted seriously as a gloss on St. Luke's words I will leave Professor Mayor to settle with Sir W. M. Ramsay.

(3) But my critic has an idea that in the story of the Holy Child's first visit to Jerusalem is to be found support for his theory, and he complains that I have passed it by in silence. I must plead guilty to having done so intentionally, for I find it hard to take it seriously. "Is it likely," he asks, "that Mary and Joseph would have been so little solicitous about an only son, and that son the promised Messiah, as to travel for a whole day without taking the pains to ascertain whether He was in their

company or not? If they had several young children to attend to, we can understand that their first thought would have been given to the latter. Otherwise is it conceivable that Mary, however complete her confidence in her eldest son, should have first lost him from her side, and then have allowed so long a time to pass without an effort to find him?" Passing over the partiality with which my critic puts the case before his mind by throwing the fact of the Messiahship into the scale on one side, though I suppose he would not suggest that other children could in any way have affected her belief in the Messiahship of her Son, I would reply that there is no room in the sacred narrative for this circumstantial addition. The story stands complete in itself, telling us quite plainly that unconcern on the mother's part was due to her unquestioning confidence in her Child; and this is in perfect accord with the reposeful character limned with undeviating consistency by the sacred historian, and we are not at liberty to go behind the author's own explanation and say that the actual cause of the child's absence being unobserved for so long was due to maternal neglect incident to the care of a large family. Were I disposed to follow my critic further, I should say that I believe him to be wrong in his facts, for observation teaches that a mother's anxiety over individual children tends to increase with their number; and ordinarily a boy of twelve would in like circumstances take no small share in helping to take care of his younger brothers and sisters. It is, however, sufficient to say that this new explanation smudges out all the poetry from the canvas and gives us a humdrum story for one of the most treasured pictures painted by him

Who first taught Art to fold her hands and pray.

The incident at Nazareth. The third main support relied upon is the following passage from the Synoptic

record :—*Is not this the carpenter ? the son of Mary ? the brother of James and Joses and of Juda and Simon ? and are not his sisters here with us ?* (St. Mark vi. 3 ; St. Matt. xiii. 54 ; cf. St. Luke iv. 16 ff.) In common with other supporters of the theory Professor Mayor attaches importance to this exclamation by the Lord's neighbours in His own country, and he goes so far as to say that he takes his "general cue" from it. I am therefore proportionately surprised that he takes no notice of a serious objection which I raised in connexion with its use for evidential purposes. With reference to the word ἀδελφός, I said (p. 83) that "the ambiguity of the word needs to be kept in mind in studying the Synoptic record, not because of the arguments used by St. Jerome, but because of contemporary linguistic limitations. The Aramaic vernacular used at Nazareth had no word to express brother—in our sense of the word—but included a much wider relationship, and certainly covers cousinship." And I explained that for this reason I had abstained from any reference to this passage. As a matter of fact, beyond their mention with Mary, there is nothing in the original expression to indicate their exact relationship. These neighbours speak of certain men and women as being the "home folk," whom they know, but my critic is entirely in the dark as to whether they mean, by the term, brothers or half-brothers or cousins, and it is only after research in other directions that he will be able to come back to these Aramaic records and tell us the precise meaning of the word which we have to translate *brother*.¹

Thus, if I am not in error on this last point, the main

¹ As I have explained elsewhere, this objection does not, of course, apply to the use of the word on the lips of St. Luke and St. Paul. On the contrary, I consider that *their* use of the word is an argument against St. Jerome's theory.

supports of the Helvidian theory are reduced to the Matthaean and Lucan narratives of the infancy, imbedded in which, as I have shown, incidental statements occur which do much to weaken the first impression made upon the reader, and which my critic has met, at least in my judgment, with singularly unconvincing arguments. I will now pass to the second division of scriptural evidence, and inquire how far this advances the argument in its favour to conclusiveness.

(b) There are three passages which are held to be indirectly corroborative of the positive evidence. In setting myself to review the criticism passed on my treatment of these I find myself at some disadvantage through Professor Mayor having missed the purpose which I had in view. He would have better appreciated my position had he remembered that I had other opponents to deal with besides himself, and would thus, I think, have been able to forgo lengthy discussion on points of secondary importance. In this section of my essay I had specially in mind the extravagant language used about the association of the brethren with the Lord's mother, of which it had been said that we find them "clinging to her in a way we should not expect to find in four stepsons, the youngest ¹ of whom must have been well over thirty years of age." I wished to show that the scriptural evidence was devoid of anything to warrant such a fine distinction, while, on the other hand, its general trend was in favour of the impression that the brethren were older than the Lord. This I endeavoured to show by reminding my readers that two of the circumstances—a wedding and a death—are sufficient in themselves to explain their presence, even though they had

¹ This is another careless statement so frequently found with supporters of this theory; the youngest of seven children could not have been thirty years old.

been cousins only; and also by a critical study of the sentences on which my opponent relied. Professor Mayor, overlooking my immediate purpose, is driven to suggest that I was aiming at something entirely foreign to my thought; as, for instance, that I wished to imply that St. John did not think that James and Jude could be rightly called the Lord's brothers; an absurd enough suggestion in view of the attention I give to his later narrative.

The departure from Cana. Here, in support of my contention that so far from closely associating them the Evangelist divided his company into two pairs, I ventured to translate with strict literalness, substituting "the brethren" for "his brethren." For this my critic seriously takes me to task; but alas! *Homerus dormitat!* and I hope he will not think me lacking in due courtesy if I say that in this particular instance his Greek is as incorrect as his logic is bad. Surely the rule that "the article in Greek frequently has the force of a possessive pronoun" does not require it to do so in every individual case; nor because *αὐτοῦ* may be supplied from one word to another does it follow that it must do so in the sentence before us. The intelligence of the reader is the arbiter, and the strictures of my critic would have taken a less dictatorial tone had he remembered that here I happen to have the authority of the compilers of the Revised Version behind me in doubting whether the rule should apply:¹ and I think that a slight acquaintance with St. John's style, with his fondness for the unnecessary iteration of pronouns, amply justifies their hesitation. The reference to St. John vii. 3, 4, 10, with its thrice-repeated *αὐτοῦ*, is alone almost sufficient to deter one from inserting it where he has not done so;

¹ Of course in a book for popular use they are right in retaining "his" of the A.V., but by putting it into italics they take the attitude given above. See Preface to R. N. Test., paragraph on use of italics.

and compare St. John xix. 25, ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. The fact that the brethren were, as I said, in the house does not associate them with the Lord's mother in the close way which I was combating, and Professor Mayor is aware that many doubt whether the brethren were at Cana at all, thinking that the Evangelist, with his "After this," takes up the story again at Nazareth. I will only add, by the way, that he also speaks too confidently about the home being removed to Capernaum. We learn from St. Matthew (iv. 13) that the Lord retired from Nazareth; and from St. Mark, that, as Swete suggests, He probably made St. Peter's house His rendezvous at Capernaum; but, so far as I know, there is not a word in the Gospels about the family removing; and the glimpses we get of them are too slight to enable us to say so, and certainly do not require it.

*The gathering in the Upper Chamber.*¹ Here again there is good reason to question whether the writer meant to associate the brethren in any special way with the Lord's mother. As my critic does not refer to this passage I will repeat that I think his cautious language implies the reverse, *With the women and Mary, the mother of Jesus, and with his brethren.* This may mean that St. Luke regarded the Lord as the bond between them and His mother, and not the Virgin as the link between Himself and them as their common mother; so, with His removal, the association is modified.

*The attempt to control the Lord's action.*² In this single instance we do find the brethren and Blessed Mary acting in close association. And here again I ventured to call attention to a textual variation which would favour my interpretation of the incident. It is true that Westcott

¹ Acts i. 14.

² St. Mark iii. 31.

and Hort reject the reading in accordance with one of their governing principles, but I think that the last thing they would have wished would be that younger students should accept their decision as final in every detail, but that, on the contrary, they would welcome any particular consideration which might show good cause for deviation from a recognized rule. I wished to do no more than this in suggesting that perhaps the Alexandrine Codex, which reads *the brethren and his mother*, may well deserve attention, since correction to the usual form would be so natural to the copyist. Professor Mayor is, of course, fully justified in saying that my reading is wrong, but he overshoots the mark when he quotes Dr. Swete¹ against me, for, though he too rejects the reading, he agrees with me in his understanding of the passage, saying that "the mother perhaps was over-persuaded by the brethren." And my critic misses the point when he adds that the occurrence of the usual form "His mother and His brethren" later is against me because she, being there, naturally took the first place, and it was for this very reason that the brothers would desire her co-operation. Nor, again, is he accurate in saying that I make no reference to Blessed Mary, and that she is allowed to drop out of the story, for I say that the rebuff to which they subjected themselves "appears to have been conclusive for the Blessed Virgin, for we do not hear of her again in company of the brethren until they, after the Crucifixion, are included in the very company from which they tried to detach him."

But, after all, the question before us here is whether the narrative betrays an attitude on the brethren's part which is unusual for younger brothers to adopt towards an elder brother. Many commentators, entirely unbiassed with regard to the issue before us, think that such is the

¹ Swete, *St. Mark*, in loc.

case, and Professor Mayor endeavours to meet it, but in a way which I think will be nothing short of distressing to many of his readers. It is the occasion, it will be remembered, which called forth the sternest denunciation of all our Lord's severe words, leading Him to speak of the Eternal Sin and its unforgivableness: so terrible indeed were His words that the Evangelist felt constrained to add a word to explain His vehemence, *Because they said he had an unclean spirit (caussas tantae irae manifestius expressit, is St. Jerome's comment)*.¹ Yet in face of our Lord's own appraisalment of His enemies' conduct and His censure on their words, my critic feels himself at liberty to plead that these religious authorities meant "perhaps little more than 'He is a wild enthusiast, and will soon wear Himself out, unless His friends insist on His taking rest.'"

Apart from the boldness even to temerity of this exegesis, there is a side-light thrown on this incident by St. Luke which is overlooked by my critic and which tells against him, for in the Third Gospel we are told that at this time many women, some of them probably nobly born and certainly wealthy, were joining themselves as disciples of the Lord, *Who ministered to Him of their substance*. I believe that he who wrote "the Gospel for women" means us to see here the underlying meaning of the Virgin's being led to intervene; it was because it was too hard for her to see others allowed to be taking that care of Him which for so long had been her sole privilege, and it was this which led her to comply with the brethren's request to join in their interference.

(c) There remain for review the two passages which incidentally raise serious objections to the theory: (1) the conflict between our Lord and His brethren; and (2) the commendation of the Lord's mother to St. John.

¹ Swete, in loc.

(1) *The conflict between the Lord and His brethren*, St. John vii. 2-8. It was the brethren's unbelief in the Lord's Messianic claims which, according to the Evangelist, gave occasion for the conflict which he narrates, but with this unbelief we have nothing to do here, our sole concern being the attitude which these brothers assume to our Lord, and the light which it throws on the question of their relative age. Consequently Professor Mayor's quotations from Westcott about that unbelief, and his question as to the comparative wrong-doing of these brethren and the sons of Zebedee, are entirely beside the mark. Nothing, indeed, could have been more unfortunate than my critic's reference to Westcott, for on the point at issue he is wholly on my side; his comment being, "Perhaps we may conclude, even from this notice compared with St. Mark iii. 21, 31, that the brethren were elder brethren (i.e., sons of Joseph by a former marriage), who might from their age seek to direct the Lord."¹ So, too, as to the significance of the incident, it is in his eyes the first step in that great controversy of belief and disbelief which is to reach its climax on Calvary; and a disclosure of two opposed principles so antagonistic morally that they *cannot* be reconciled.

Professor Mayor seems to be shocked at the vigour of my language in describing this scene, but I believe not only that my interpretation is correct, but that it does not go beyond St. Chrysostom, who says that their conduct sprang from envy (*ἀπὸ πονηρὰς γνώμης καὶ φθόνου*) and that they were guilty of insolence and unseasonable boldness (*ἡθρασύτης καὶ ἡ ἄκαιρος παρρησία*). And so far from forgetting the splendid future of these men, I believe that it is just here that we have the key to it; in this too, if I am not mistaken, having the Greek Commentator with me. I,

¹ Westcott, *St. John*, in loc.

for my part, have never been able to attribute St. James' conversion to his vision of the Risen Lord, but have always associated it with the Crucifixion. I have pictured him standing afar off during the long hours of that dread tragedy, yet rehearsing, and having more vividly before his eyes, this scene in the Nazareth home; *that* personal conflict was the precursor of *this*: it was to this that he had been so ready in his thoughtlessness and impatience to hurry his Brother: it was this that *He* foresaw and for which He was so patiently and quietly preparing Himself. And so at the close I think of him going forth like Peter to weep bitterly, and, like him, needing the Lord's own spoken forgiveness before he could forgive himself for that hour's needless pain. This may be an utterly mistaken view of the saint's conversion, and it certainly is outside our present subject; but perhaps in face of my critic's censure it may be excused as tending to show that I am free from that personal bitterness against these men of which he accuses me, and that I have thought over this matter, if not for so long, at least not less deeply and fully, nor I trust less reverently, than my critic.

But this all-important question of the relative ages of the Lord and His brethren is not, in fact, squarely faced, still less effectually met by Professor Mayor. For instance, he draws similes from home life as it is known to ourselves, never pausing to consider nor to warn his readers of the fundamental divergence of Eastern family life from that which is Western and modern. In nothing is this more marked than in "the attitude of profound respect which is felt by the younger members for the eldest brother, the potential head of the family."¹ These last words are quoted from an article by the Head of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, who is more experienced than most in his

¹ *Indian Church Quarterly*, April 1900, p. 181.

knowledge of the Eastern mind, and who in connexion with this passage says : “ if they had been His younger brothers, the impertinence, to Oriental ideas, would have been most marked.” This is the testimony of a man who does not hold the Epiphanian view.

It is much the same when Professor Mayor deals with the question of our Lord’s heavenly-mindedness. All would admit that there would be observable in Him an other-worldliness far beyond that of any other man ; that with Him more than any other would companions have need to pause from idle words, conscious that

His heart and brain move there, His feet stay here.

And Professor Mayor rightly insists on this aspect of His person ; but he goes astray when he deduces from this trait that the ordinary consequence of self-neglect would also follow in His case, and I tried to show from the gospel picture that it was not so ; and no wonder, for to do so would be to derogate from the perfection of His sinless manhood. Yet of this objection my critic takes no notice, but, from a page of compressed writing, he picks out two words and directs his criticism against these. Since he considers my choice of words of sufficient interest for discussion I would answer that I am in no way wedded to either word, though I do not think they err from the truth in the way that his view of a self-forgetting idealist does. With regard to his query, “ What has clear-sightedness to do with it ? ” I may refer him to our Lord’s words, *My time is not yet come*, and Westcott’s comment—“ *καίρós* appears to mark the fitness of time in regard to the course of human events ”—or, in other words, our Lord claims to be more clear-sighted in the opportuneness of His daily movements than His more practical brother. And though “ superiority ” looks a lame word apart from its context, I think it fairly

sums up my meaning, and should have been met with an answer rather than an impatient gesture. But I need not insist on this, since my opponent furnishes me with an apt illustration in the reference to Crito and Socrates. It will be remembered that Crito, for all the brave words wherewith he sought to rally the spirit and courage of Socrates, found himself utterly limp just where he thought himself strongest ; and on his own ground had to own that Socrates was the better man. Now this is precisely what I maintained would have been the case between younger brothers and the Lord, but from my critic's point of view the result should be exactly the other way about.

While Professor Mayor dwells on such minor points as these he leaves us in the dark as to what is precisely his own position. In a former work he spoke of this impression of seniority as a difficulty which must be grappled with before the Helvidian theory could be accepted, and it was by way of reply to this that he wrote the paragraph about the positive and relative age of brothers. This implies that he recognizes the fact that such an impression is conveyed to the mind of the reader of the New Testament, but here he seems to deny its existence by centring the whole action around the Lord's mother and laying the whole responsibility on her." Is it more in accordance with human nature," he asks, "that a second wife should be induced by her stepsons to take action against her own firstborn and only child, than that a mother, with several children of her now, should consult with the younger ones when a sudden danger seems to threaten the eldest and dearest ?" I am not concerned to answer a question which I by no means accept as "a parallel case," but simply wish to draw attention to the uncertain position of my critic, who forthwith adds the paragraph referred to above. I hope the indecision is due to qualms of conscience

as to the lawfulness of his exegesis of the passage in question, and the doubt whether, after all, to accuse another of having an unclean spirit can by any manipulation be made to express solicitude for his welfare.

Though of my other three reasons for concluding that the brothers were the elder no mention is made of my belief that the youngest Apostle was the son of James the Lord's brother—if, that is, we take St. Luke's description with strict exactness—I am glad to see that there is little to divide us with regard to the others. The words which Professor Mayor quotes from his *Epistle of St. James* about the author's attitude to the *Sermon on the Mount*, and which at the time of writing escaped my memory, excellently describe the position. "It is like the reminiscence of thoughts often uttered by the original speaker and sinking into the heart of the hearer, who reproduces them in his own manner." But I still think that the fact of such evident receptivity on the ethical side of the Lord's teaching in conjunction with an intensely Judaic temper, even after the writer's conversion, postulates, or at least is in favour of, seniority of age in the disciple.

The significance of the literary problem I do not feel at liberty to press. In common with others, I owe such a debt of gratitude to Professor Mayor for his work in this direction that I should deem it unbecoming on my part to challenge his deliberate judgment in the matter. But I think I may without disrespect say two things: first, it is not a question whether the Judaistic tone of these *Epistles* has been "very much exaggerated," but whether it is a distinctive feature, sufficiently marked, to separate them from the rest of the New Testament literature; and, if so, whether a more plausible explanation can be given than that which I suggested; and secondly, I wish Professor Mayor had not given a

reason in the case of the *Epistle of St. Jude* ; for the fact that the last fifth of a letter is intensely Christian constitutes no valid argument that the former four-fifths are not just as emphatically Judaistic if, apart from the concluding part, they so strike the reader. On the contrary (though I tremble to use the word *liturgical* again), we have high authority for saying that the author may have consciously sought to remedy these defects of his letter by finishing with sonorous Christian language which he had borrowed from the liturgical prayers of the Church.¹

I am sorry that (now for the first time I believe) Professor Mayor, following Edersheim and others, adopts the idea that our Lord's claim to be the Messiah gives support to the Helvidian theory. But the idea of primogeniture nowhere enters into the scriptural conception of the Messiah. That He should be of *the house and lineage of David* was essential to it, but that He should be the firstborn, either in His own person or through a long descent of eldest sons, is no part of the divine revelation. Rather, as always, does this theory introduce a disturbing element into the story. Granting that, by adoption, the Lord became legally Joseph's heir, He was not so in fact ; and to me at least it would seem more agreeable to the Word of God that He who was to be known as the *Truth* should not after His death be found by his younger brothers to have held a position towards them of fraternal authority not strictly His by birthright.

(2) *The commendation of the Lord's mother to St. John.* Here again I think I may fairly complain of Professor Mayor's attitude towards my treatment of this important question. He speaks with words of high scorn of my literary and mental incompetence ; he indulges in *a priori* arguments which ignore essential features of the case ;

¹ *Hastings' Dictionary.* Art. "Ep. of Jude."

but of my argument he deigns not to say a single word. Yet this argument is a very simple one, and ought to have been met if faulty. I tried to demonstrate that, apart from the Helvidian theory, the Gospel narrative is wonderfully simple and holds all together, being of a piece with all the rest in the picture of the Lord's marvellous thoughtfulness and care for all about Him. If the Virgin had no other child, then, on His death, she would be desolate, and her future would in such a case be a care to Him. Again, in such a case, Blessed Mary would naturally have searchings of heart as to her best course : on the one hand there would be the old ties of the Nazareth home with its fond memories, with, too, in all probability, Clopas and Mary and their children still there, a band of disciples only too glad to retain her amongst them : on the other hand there would be the drawing of the affection of her own kith and kin in the persons of Salome and of her nephews James and John, next to herself the nearest and dearest of her Son's friends. It is into such a position as this, which is necessitated by the scriptural story, that the fourth word from the Cross is spoken, so closing His relationship to His mother. Could anything be more in character with all that has gone before ? But the Helvidian theory introduces four younger sons and two or more daughters, and its supporters find themselves called upon to explain them away somehow at this crisis of their mother's life. And how does Professor Mayor seek to do this ? In his former work he said that these children could not rightly hold themselves slighted by the commendation of the Blessed Mary to their cousin because they must have felt " that the busy life of a family was not suited for the quiet pondering which now more than ever would characterize their mother." By way of reply I showed that the argument breaks down completely because James, " the very man who is now maintained to be Blessed Mary's eldest surviving son," was, according to

tradition,¹ the man best able to offer her such a home. I should have thought that the bearing of this was obvious enough; but since my opponent plaintively rejoins that he does not see the point, perhaps the following words from Lightfoot will make my position clearer: "In James, the Lord's brother, . . . we have the prototype of those later saints, whose rigid life and formal devotion elicits, it may be, only the contempt of the world, but of whom, nevertheless, the world was not and is not worthy."²

Now, however, he drops the plea based on the special needs of the mother of the Lord and goes to the other extreme, and says that "we have simply to consider generally what is the duty of sons towards a widowed mother." In reply to this I can only say that, for my part, I can hardly conceive a more hopelessly perverse attitude in approaching this most delicate subject. Leaving aside for the present higher considerations, it invites us to ignore such essential points as the unusual position of dignity accorded to the widowed mother in an Eastern home; it takes no note of the affectionate desires of surviving sons and daughters; it disregards the fact that this is no arrangement come to after consultation with those most concerned, but a wish expressed without any reference to them. It is here especially that my critic accuses me of losing myself in abstractions, so I will try to bring this to a definite issue by starting from his own position. I should, then, like to ask Professor Mayor to imagine an old pupil coming to him in precisely—from a merely human point of view—the same position as he has ascribed to James, the Lord's brother. Such a man could plead that as a family they had been knit together both to each other and to their mother in a special degree through endeavours to protect their eldest brother against himself; but that now, in

¹ Accepted by Dr. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 152, 153.

² *Galatians*. St. Paul and the Three.

obedience to his irrevocable wish whispered in his last moments, she felt herself bound to sever herself from their old home in order to live with a cousin who more than anyone else had encouraged him in the course which they had deprecated and which had ended as distressingly as they had all along feared. Can my critic say that with his friend before him seeking his sympathy and advice, he would not feel that it was a hard case and consider that the surviving children were being treated unkindly in the matter? If so, he grants me all I need. If in his conscience there would be any misgiving that the mother and cousin were acting selfishly, he will at last see the point I have been driving at. For what is the actual position? Our Lord stands forth challenging the human conscience to find in His conduct any deviation from the perfection of God's moral law. He stood before the Jews claiming both to fulfil in His own person and to reformulate, and in so doing to elevate to a higher sphere the Mosaic moral code. In no part was there more need of such rehabilitation than in that of filial piety, and in no part of His teaching does the Lord speak with stronger emphasis. It cannot be denied that the natural privilege of children to care for their mother after their father's death was specially prized, yet we are asked to believe that our Lord by His own *fiat* disregarded all this and, so far as His own brothers and sisters are concerned, snapped asunder their tenderest ties. In face of the standard of conduct by which the Lord has bidden the conscience of men to judge Him, I do not flinch from saying that it would not be permissible for Him to act in a manner which I should hold to be unjust in my own elder brother, and of which I know him to be incapable.

Professor Mayor says, "We should all agree that whatever He did was not permissible only, but the one right thing to be done." But that is not the point. The question is whether a condition of things, invented as I believe by

a man in the fourth century, results in the ascription to our Lord of conduct which is irreconcilable with His otherwise faultless claim to show us the ideal of a perfect human life, incomparably beautiful in every detail.

Professor Mayor may quarrel with my words and what he considers my muddled thoughts, but he is as far as ever from meeting this fatal objection to his theory, or of showing his opponents how he can satisfactorily explain a position which in their estimation conflicts with that unapproachable and inviolable moral supremacy which the Lord claims and manifests.

I have now passed in review the criticism of my opponent as regards the passages of Holy Scripture and the reader can judge between us and say which is nearer the mark ; the one who finds in these eight passages conclusive evidence that the brethren were the sons of Joseph and Mary : or the other who declares that the more closely they are examined the less do they help the theory—a theory, moreover, which disturbs the smooth tenour of the sacred narrative.

Professor Mayor indulges in a taunt at the nature of the light which I have tried to throw on this question ; but he has so often turned aside from the spot which I wished to illumine that I might be tempted to retort that perhaps it has been too bright for him, dazzling his sight and causing him to fall back on nature's kind remedy by closing his eyes. But I will not be so discourteous, but will finish on a more pleasant note, and thank him for the graceful surrender implied in the last word of his title. I am glad that the Helvidian theory claims no longer to sit down in the highest room, but is willing modestly to take its place once more beside its rival as only an alternative *Hypothesis* of what at the best must remain a difficult problem.

I shall hope to review the second part of my critic's article in the following number.

X.

author 5

*THE RELATION OF THE TESTAMENTS OF THE
TWELVE PATRIARCHS TO THE BOOKS OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT.*

IN his Introduction to the edition of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, with which Dr. Charles has again laid all students of apocalyptic and apocryphal literature under an immense obligation, he has tabulated a large number of parallels—some of them very striking—between passages in the Testaments and passages in the New Testament. They amount to about ninety in all; and they might be increased in number, especially as regards parallels between the Testaments and the First Gospel. In the International Critical Commentary on St. Luke (pp. lxxviii. f.) seventeen parallels between that Gospel and the Testaments are tabulated, not all of which are included in Dr. Charles's tables, and it would be safe to say that his ninety examples might be increased to a figure considerably over a hundred. In his notes he himself calls attention to a few parallels which are not included in the tables. But the large majority of the additional examples will be found to come from the First Gospel.

What explanation is to be given of these 130 or 140 cases in which there is resemblance in thought, or language, or both, between the Testaments and the writings of the New Testament? Accidental coincidence may explain a few, and independent employment of ideas and words which were part of the intellectual material of the time may explain others. But the number of parallels is too great, and the closeness of some of them is too great, to allow these two

explanations to suffice for all of them. The only reasonable hypothesis is that, in a large number of cases, the writings of the New Testament have influenced the Testaments, or *vice versâ*. The two cannot be independent, and the main question is as to which is dependent on the other.

Dr. Charles unhesitatingly decides for the priority of the Testaments. He places at the head of this part of his Introduction (§ 26) "Influence of the Testaments on the New Testament." He is persuaded that the moral teaching and the words of the Testaments have penetrated to the very Source of the Christian religion—that they have influenced at least the form, if not the substance, of the moral teaching and sayings of Jesus Christ. And, after discussing illustrations of the resemblances between the Testaments and the Gospels, with a few from Acts, he goes on to say that, "from the evidence presently to be adduced, it will be clear that St. Paul was thoroughly familiar with the Greek translation of the Testaments."

There is nothing incredible in this hypothesis, taken by itself. It is not impossible that our Lord sometimes reproduces Ecclesiasticus in His teaching: comp. Ecclesiasticus vii. 14, xxiii. 9-11, xxviii. 2, xxix. 12 with Matthew vi. 7, v. 33, 34, vi. 14, vi. 20 and xix. 21, which are only a few of the resemblances. And it is certain that Jewish writings which are not in the Canon are quoted or alluded to by St. Paul, St. Jude, and the writer of 2 Peter. Therefore, it need not startle us if these writers, or even our Lord Himself, studied the high moral teaching which is found in some of the Testaments so frequently, that their own utterances were influenced by what they found there. Yet there is another hypothesis which certainly deserves to be considered; and no doubt Dr. Charles has considered it. But he has summarily and decidedly rejected it, as if there were quite conclusive objections to

it. Possibly with him it is a question of date pure and simple. He believes that he has proved that the Hebrew original of the Testaments was written B.C. 109-107, or at any rate very near that time. No book of the New Testament was written until nearly a century and a half later than this; therefore, if there is dependence (and there must be), it is the writers of the New Testament that are dependent upon the Testaments.

One whose knowledge of the Testaments is only superficial dissents with great diffidence from a scholar whose life has been spent in studying literature of this kind, and who has spent many years upon the investigation of this particular book. There may be some conclusive answer to what is now about to be urged, and, if so, Dr. Charles will be competent to give it. This most interesting product of later Judaism has long been a perplexity in various respects. Some of the doubts about it have now been cleared away, a happy result to which Dr. Charles has greatly contributed; and something will be gained if he can demonstrate that the objections which may be brought against his confident view that the New Testament is dependent upon the Testaments are untenable or of little weight.

It is very significant that the passages in the Testaments which resemble passages in the Gospels, in the very large majority of cases, resemble passages in Matthew. There are about twice as many parallels with Matthew as with all the other three Gospels. And Dr. Charles remarks that the parallels with Matthew "are almost exclusively those which give the sayings and discourses of our Lord" (p. lxxviii.). There are plenty of exceptions, but the proportion is very large. How is this fact to be explained? Dr. Charles says that our Lord knew the Testaments and adopted some of their excellent ideas and

words. But that does not explain why, in the large majority of cases, these adaptations of the Testaments are found in the First Gospel. In Dr. Charles's tables there are fifteen parallels between Christ's words and the Testaments, all taken from Matthew, but one of them common to Matthew and Luke. From Luke there are six such parallels; from John there are two, one of which is slight, while the other should be assigned to 1 John rather than to the Gospel; from Mark not one. The fifteen from the First Gospel may be more than doubled. In his notes Dr. Charles adds four more (Matt. v. 6, vi. 24, xv. 14, xix. 28), and twelve others might be added to these, making over thirty in all. And a good many might be added to the five examples which he has tabulated of parallels between the Testaments and the *narrative* portion of Matthew.

Now if our Lord so frequently reproduced the thoughts and words of the Testaments, we should expect to find these reproductions in all four Gospels, or, at any rate, in all three Synoptics, and in Luke almost as often as in Matthew. Why is the proportion so overwhelming in the First Gospel? And why is much the same proportion found in the parallels between the Testaments and the Gospel narratives?

Let us try the converse hypothesis, and assume that it is the Gospels which have influenced the Testaments. Then at once we see why the First Gospel should have influenced the Testaments far more than the other three. As soon as the Gospel according to St. Matthew was published it became immensely popular. It almost drove that according to St. Mark into obscurity; and that according to Luke, similar as it is in its contents and in its abundant record of Christ's sayings, never overtook the Gospel according to St. Matthew in the affections of Christians. It was, and still is, from the First Gospel that Christians learn most of what they know about Jesus Christ, and it is for this reason that

Renan rightly calls it "the most important book that ever was written." If, therefore, it is the Gospels that have influenced the Testaments, and not *vice versâ*, we have a very obvious explanation of the fact that the parallels with the First Gospel, both in discourses and in narratives, are so very much more frequent than parallels with the other three.

But it may be urged that the Testaments were written long before the Gospels. It is therefore impossible that the writer has borrowed from them, while it is quite possible that the Evangelists have borrowed from him. The Testaments were written before Christ was born. It is therefore impossible that the writer has adopted Christ's teaching, whereas it is quite possible that Christ may have adopted his.

The date of the Testaments in the original Hebrew is by no means certain yet. Dr. Charles may be right in assigning it to about B.C. 109, and he has shown that it cannot be earlier than that ; but Harnack is perhaps nearer the mark in saying that the date cannot well be placed earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, and may be later than that. Let us, however, assume that the Book of Jubilees is dependent upon the Testaments, and not the other way about, although Schürer prefers the latter hypothesis ; and let us assume that the Hebrew original of the Testaments was written some decades before the Birth of Christ ; that does not prove that the remarkable parallels between the Testaments and the New Testament, and especially between the Testaments and the First Gospel, and between the Testaments and the Pauline Epistles, have been produced through the use of the Testaments by our Lord and the Evangelists and St. Paul.

Thanks to a number of labourers in this field, of whom Dr. Charles is one of the chief, it is now ascertained beyond question that the author of the Testaments was a Jew who

wrote in Hebrew ; that the Greek texts which have come down to us represent early translations from the Hebrew ; and that from the Greek version other versions which have come down to us were made. It has also been thoroughly established that the numerous Christian features which are found in the Testaments are the result of insertions and changes of wording which have been made by Christian hands. This has been done more than once, for the insertions are not all of the same date ; and it is possible that this Christianizing of the Testaments, in order to make them more edifying to believers, was a process which went on for a century or two before the text reached the condition (by no means harmonious) in which we find it in its existing representatives.

Is it not probable that the people who Christianized the Testaments introduced most of the remarkable resemblances between them and the New Testament ? This hypothesis accounts for the immense preponderance of the parallels between the Testaments and the First Gospel, and between them and the Epistles of St. Paul, which were well known still earlier than the First Gospel. The one Pauline passage which appears *verbatim* in the Testaments comes from the earliest Epistle of all, and perhaps the earliest writing in the New Testament (1 Thess. ii. 16 ; *Levi* vi. 11) : ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὁργὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τέλος, where the insertion of τοῦ Θεοῦ in harmony with DF, Latt. Goth. is to be noticed. It is shown by Dr. Charles himself that these Christian scribes inserted words of their own into their copies in order to make the Testaments more Christian in tone. Would they not be still more ready to introduce words from the New Testament, or to modify the wording of the Testaments so as to bring them more into harmony with the words of our Lord or of His Apostle ?

The hypothesis that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, in the Greek version, is dependent upon the New Testament, and especially upon the First Gospel and the Epistles of St. Paul, has a further advantage. It explains, what would be really amazing if the converse hypothesis were correct, that "the Testaments have not left much trace on Patristic literature" (p. lxxv.). It would be a pardonable exaggeration to say that they have left none. A single mention by Origen, in a work written near the end of his life, and therefore about A.D. 250, is the earliest reference on which we can depend with certainty. In his Homilies on the Book of Joshua (xv. 6) he speaks of a certain book with this title, which however is not canonical; *in aliquo quodam libello, qui appellatur Testamentum Duodecim Patriarcharum, quamvis non habeatur in canone, etc.* There is a fragment attributed (erroneously, as Harnack is inclined to think) to Irenæus (No. xvii. in Stieren and in Hervey), in which there is an *apparent* reference to the Testaments: but the double uncertainty makes the evidence rather weak. And Dr. Charles cites seven passages from the Shepherd of Hermas, to which he gives parallels from the Testaments. He regards them as conclusive that Hermas knew and used the Testaments. Most of them are very unconvincing, either because the expressions common to both writings are not unusual, or because Hermas is more likely to quote Scripture than the Testaments. The combination of ἀπλότης with ἀκακία is not remarkable; nor the combination of καρδιά καθαρά with ἀμίαντος. Τὰ κτίσματα τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . μεταδίδετε καὶ τοῖς ὑστερουμένοις, if it needs a source, may come as easily from Luke iii. 11, or Job xxxi. 17, or Proverbs xxii. 9, or Ezekiel xviii. 7, 16, or Epistle of Jeremy 28, as from πτωχῷ μετέδωκα ἄρτον μου (*Issachar* vii. 5). Giving without partiality is a subject that may easily occur independently to two writers whose

aim is to give moral exhortation to their readers ; and, if they are to express their ideas in Greek, they would be likely to use διακρίνω in some form or other ; that Hermas has μηδὲν διακρίνων τίνι δῶ, while in *Zebulon* vii. 2 we read ἀδιακρίτως πάντας ἐλεᾶτε, is but slight evidence of dependence. And surely, μηδενὸς καταλάλει (*Mand.* ii. 2) is more likely to come from μὴ καταλαλεῖτε (*Jas.* iv. 11) or μὴ ἀγάπα καταλαλεῖν (*Prov.* xii. 13) than from οὐ κατελάλησά τινος πώποτε (*Issachar* iii. 4).

There is one parallel, however, which is of interest and at first sight striking. The Shepherd (*Mand.* III. ix. 2) says, "There are two angels with man, one of righteousness and one of wickedness." In the Testaments (*Judah* xx. 1), "Two spirits wait upon man, the spirit of truth and the spirit of error." One passage may be dependent upon the other ; or both may come from Barnabas xviii. 1 ; or Hermas may be following Barnabas, while the Testament of Judah may be inspired by 1 John iv. 6. Origen (*De Prin.* III. ii. 4) appears to think that Hermas and Barnabas are associated, for he quotes first one and then the other. The passage in Barnabas runs thus : "There are two ways of teaching and of power, the one of light and the other of darkness. . . . On the one are stationed the light-giving angels of God, on the other the angels of Satan." In 1 John iv. 6, "the spirit of truth and the spirit of error" is identical with *Judah* xx. 1. It will be observed that while the Epistle and the Testaments both have "spirits," Barnabas and Hermas both have "angels." These similarities and differences render it uncertain whether there is dependence between Hermas and the Testaments. If there is, the priority may be with Hermas. The Shepherd, like the First Gospel, quickly became very popular, although, unlike the Gospel, it afterwards entirely lost its popularity. For a time some books of the New Testament were not nearly

so well known as the Shepherd of Hermas, and one of the Christianizing copyists may have introduced this passage from the Shepherd into the Testaments. Yet the derivation from Barnabas or from 1 John is more probable.

But let us allow that it is not impossible that both Hermas and Irenæus knew the Testaments. That is a very small portion of the Christian writers of a century and a half (A.D. 95-250). Here we have a book which is thought to have had a very powerful effect upon the First Gospel and upon the Epistles of St. Paul, and to have had a considerable effect upon most of the writings of the New Testament. Ought we not to find manifest evidence of its influence upon the Apostolic Fathers, especially Clement, Ignatius, and Barnabas, upon the Didaché, Aristides, Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, or at least upon some of them. Why should the marvellous influence exercised upon Canonical Scriptures cease directly the line (as yet undefined) between Canonical and uncanonical writings is passed? Does not the absence of influence upon the early Fathers indicate that the supposed influence upon our Lord and His Apostles and Evangelists is imagined? This sudden cessation of influence upon Christian thought and literature seems to be inexplicable. Let us take the summary of the facts as given by Dr. Charles himself.

“After the first century of our era the fortunes of the Testaments speedily declined in Christendom. Though they are referred to occasionally in the next three centuries, they came to be discredited as an Apocryphal writing and fell under the ban of the Church. Unhappily, further, in the course of these centuries of their waning popularity, they underwent interpolation at the hands of Christian scribes, but happily many of these interpolations had not

been made when the book was done into Armenian " (p. xvii.).

"*Waning* popularity" does not seem to be quite the right expression: there was no *waning*. According to the theory adopted by Dr. Charles, the popularity ceased suddenly. We do not find that in the first half of the second century the influence of the book was still considerable, that in the second half of that century the evidence of influence becomes less, and then gradually ceases. On the contrary, there is no evidence of the existence of the book till the second half of the first century, and then it is only the very inconclusive evidence mentioned above as to its having possibly been known to Hermas and Irenæus. Not till we reach the middle of the third century is the book mentioned, and then only once in all his voluminous writings, by Origen. The Clementines, Hippolytus, Cyprian, Arnobius, and Lactantius, not to mention other writers, yield no traces. Is it not reasonable to call in this evidence of almost total absence of influence in the second and third centuries to guide us in our interpretation of the parallels between our texts of the Testaments and the writings of the New Testament in the first century? The hypothesis that the Testaments had a very powerful effect on the New Testament would seem to be excluded. And, as has been already shown, the parallels (so numerous, and sometimes so close) can be explained in a way that raises no such difficulty.

Some of them are probably accidental. Some of them may be the result of the influence of Jewish writings (whether inside or outside of the Old Testament) and Jewish traditions upon both the writer of the Testaments and the writers of the New Testament. But most of them are due to the work of Christian scribes, who in other ways did not scruple to tamper with the text of the Testaments in order to make the book more edifying. It will be observed that, in urging

this explanation, we are not introducing a new cause in order to account for the facts ; we are using a cause, the operation of which upon the Testaments is already fully admitted. Over and over again Dr. Charles calls attention to its effects. That the Testaments were Christianized by Christian scribes, and probably by several at different periods, is now an accepted result of criticism. Is there any improbability in the supposition that part of the Christianizing process consisted in making the wording of the Testaments approximate to the wording of the New Testament, and especially to the teaching of our Lord and of His Apostle St. Paul ?

The precise date of the original Hebrew Testaments is not of great moment for the argument. Perhaps it is not as early as Dr. Charles believes. Allusions to John Hyrcanus, if they exist, prove that the book cannot have been written before his time, but they do not tell us how long after his time it may have been written. Let us take any time between B.C. 100 and A.D. 50 for the Hebrew original. Translation into Greek may have taken place in the first century of our era, and even the Christianizing process may have begun before A.D. 100. All we can say is that it was probably a Christianized copy that was known to Origen, for he thinks it worth while to mention its not being included in the Canon. Perhaps, with the help of the magnificent edition and critical text which Dr. Charles has now supplied, some sure conclusions as to this perplexing product of late Judaism and early Christianity, in addition to those already reached, may become possible.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

*MAN'S FORGIVENESS OF HIS NEIGHBOUR—A
STUDY IN RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.*¹

WHEN we study the teachings of the Old and New Testaments on this subject, we are at once struck with the vast ethical gulf that severs the latter from the former, not, indeed, on the question of God's forgiveness of man, but of man's forgiveness of his neighbour. In the New Testament, from the first page to the last, with the exception of certain passages in the New Testament Apocalypse, it is either explicitly stated or implicitly understood that a man can only receive the Divine forgiveness on condition that he forgives his neighbour. Indeed, in their essential aspects these two forgivenesses are one and the same. But in the Old Testament it is very different. There, indeed, God's forgiveness is granted without money and without price to the sinner who truly seeks it. But the penitent in the Old Testament could accept and enjoy the Divine pardon and yet cherish the most bitter feelings towards his own personal enemy. There are, indeed, some noble passages in the Old Testament which [forbid the indulgence of personal resentment. Though few in number, and indeed but as voices crying in the wilderness, they are yet of transcendent import; for they form the beginnings of that lofty doctrine of forgiveness which reaches its highest expression in the New Testament, as we shall now proceed to show. The presence of such passages in the Old Testament is evidence that already the more spiritual minds in Judaism were working towards loftier conceptions of forgiveness than those that had prevailed in the past or were current among their contemporaries. We shall now try to show the chief steps in the advance to this more ethical attitude towards an enemy.

¹ Delivered before the General Meeting of the Congress of the History of Religions at Oxford on Friday, September 18, 1908.

i. One of the oldest statements in the Bible which shows a consciousness that as a man dealt with his fellow-men so God would with him, is found in Judges i. 6, 7, and the reflection on this point is, strangely enough, put in the mouth of a Canaanitish king Adoni-bezek: "And Adoni-bezek fled, and they pursued after him and caught him, and cut off his thumbs and his great toes. And Adoni-bezek said: Threescore and ten kings having their thumbs and their great toes cut off gathered their meat under my table: as I have done, so God hath requited me." The primitive human law of exact retaliation, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life, is here described as the law of Divine procedure. In Exodus xxi. 23 sqq. this law is to be observed by the judges in Israel. In the hands of the late scribes and legalists this law was often crassly conceived, and in Jubilees and 2 Maccabees the history of the deaths of notable evildoers is often rewritten so as to furnish examples of this law of retribution. Spiritually conceived, it represents a profound religious truth enunciated repeatedly in the New Testament. But to return, this doctrine, that with what measure we mete it is measured to us again, is found in Psalm xviii. 25 seq.—

"With the merciful Thou wilt show Thyself merciful . . .
 With the pure Thou wilt show Thyself pure,
 And with the perverse Thou wilt show Thyself froward."

ii. The belief in such a connexion between a man's treatment of his neighbour and his treatment by God is sufficient to explain the use of such *negative* commands as Proverbs xx. 22—

"Say not thou, I will recompense evil:
 Wait on the Lord and He shall save thee."

Or on Proverbs xxiv. 29—

"Say not, I will do to him as he hath done to me;
 I will render to the man according to his work."

These precepts are noteworthy since they are opposed to the principle of retaliation in itself, and that at a time when such a principle was universally current.

iii. But there are one or two notable passages that go beyond these and contain *positive* commands that when we find our enemy in *difficulty or distress* we are to help him. Thus it is enjoined in Exodus xxiii. 4, 5: "If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again. If thou see the ass of him that hateth thee lying under its burthen, and wouldest forbear to help him, thou shalt surely help with him."¹ And again in Proverbs xxv. 21, 22—

"If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat,
And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink;
For thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head,
And the Lord shall reward thee."

This last noble passage, however, occurs in close proximity to a vile direction, that a man was not to rejoice over the affliction of an enemy lest God should see it and remove the affliction. And yet this base precept implies the existence of a higher one, that a man should not rejoice over a fallen enemy's misfortunes.

iv. But the Old Testament ethics reaches its highest point of development in Leviticus xix. 17-18, a passage the importance of which it would be hard to exaggerate.

This passage runs: "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thine heart: thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbour, and not bear sin because of him. Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear grudge against the children of thy people, but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

Here all hatred of a brother is forbidden. In case a man's neighbour does a wrong he is to admonish him. If he has himself suffered a wrong, he is not to avenge himself

¹ These words are used simply in relation to a neighbour, not an enemy, in Deut. xxii. 1-3.

on his neighbour, but to love him as himself. We have here a true foundation for subsequent ethical development on the subject of forgiveness. It is true that the sphere of the precept is limited here absolutely to Israelites or to such strangers or *gêrîm* as had taken upon themselves the yoke of the Law. Neighbour here means an Israelite or Jew. Notwithstanding the passage is epoch-making and served in some degree to fashion the highest pronouncement on forgiveness in later Judaism that we find in the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs.

v. Finally, we have the notable instance of Joseph's forgiveness of his brethren; but this act of grace on Joseph's part does not seem to have impressed later Old Testament writers, or led them to urge Joseph's conduct as worthy herein of imitation.

We have now given practically all the higher teaching on forgiveness in the Old Testament; but side by side with this higher teaching there are statements of a very different character, which exhibit the unforgiving temper in various degrees of intensity. Our classification of them is logical rather than chronological.

i. In the first stage this temper manifests itself in a most unblushing and positive manner in one of the Psalms, where the righteous man prays to Yahweh to make him strong enough to pay out his enemies: "Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up that I may requite them" (Ps. xli. 10). Side by side with this prayer we might place the unforgiving spirit of David—the man after God's own heart—when on his deathbed he charged Solomon not to let Joab's hoar head go down to the grave in peace; and commanded him to deal similarly with Shimei, though David had promised to preserve Shimei's life.

ii. But this thirst for immediate personal vengeance

could not, unless exceptionally, indulge itself when once order and law were established in the land. The person wronged could take to heart the words of the Deuteronomist, that God would avenge the blood of His servants" (xxxii. 43), for that "Vengeance is Mine and recompence" (xxxii. 35), and so might relinquish the desire of *personally* executing the vengeance; but if so, then in many instances he prayed all the more vehemently for God to undertake the vengeance for him. Under this heading comes the most appalling exhibition of vindictiveness to be found in religious literature, i.e. the imprecatory Psalms. No amount of explaining away or allegorizing can excise the malignant element in these productions; nor in such utterances as the cxxxviiith Psalm, where the writer in his fury against Babylon declareth: "Happy shall he be that taketh and dasheth thy little ones against the rock." The use of such Psalms in Christian worship cannot be justified on any reasonable principle.¹ And yet the faithful Jew felt no hesitation in believing that God would fulfil such prayers. "God," he writes, "is mine helper; the Lord is of them that uphold my soul: He shall requite the evil unto mine enemies," and then closes the Psalm with the expression of sated vengeance: "Mine eye hath seen my desire upon mine enemies" (Ps. liv. 47).

iii. But as time went on the teaching of the nobler spirits began to make itself felt, and so the faithful came to feel that there was something wrong in the vindictive spirit in itself and in its joy over an enemy's misfortune. We have already given some passages attesting such a higher temper, but I shall quote still another, and that one of the most remarkable in the Old Testament for its distorted ethics—

¹ Even in Judaism the Imprecatory Psalms are not used in *public* worship.

"Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth,
 And let not thine heart be glad when he is overthrown,
 Lest the Lord see it and it displease Him,
 And He turn away His wrath from him " (Prov. xxiv. 17, 18).¹

Here we are bidden not to rejoice over an enemy's overthrow lest God see our malicious joy and so restore our enemy to prosperity. Though this precept shows an ethical advance on the part of some circle in the community—a consciousness that vindictive rejoicing over an enemy's fall is wrong—yet the temper of the man who gave this precept and of him who observed it is immeasurably lower than that of the plain man who prayed bluntly to God to raise him up that he might pay off old scores against his enemy.

From the two conflicting series of passages on forgiveness we have now dealt with, we see that there was no such thing as a prescribed and unquestioned doctrine of forgiveness in the Old Testament, and that a Jew, however he chose to act towards his personal enemy, could justify his conduct from his sacred writings. It is easy to deduce the natural consequences of such a state of ethical confusion.

When a man, and that, too, a good man, has suffered wrong, his usual course is not to ask what is the very highest and noblest line of conduct he could take towards his enemy, but generally what is the least exacting and yet ethically acceptable amongst his orthodox contemporaries. And in a book where every jot and tittle was equally authoritative, if he chose the precepts that accorded best with his

¹ It has been suggested to me by a distinguished Jewish scholar that the last line here means: "turn away His wrath from him (to thee)." But there is no ground for this interpretation in the text. If this was the meaning, the very important words "to thee" could not have been omitted in the text. Moreover they are not supplied in the Septuagint, Syriac or Vulgate Versions, nor yet in the Jewish Targum.

personal feelings, who could blame him? If he chose to indulge his personal animosities, he could do so without forfeiting his own self-respect or that of the religious leaders of the community; for he could support his action by sanctions drawn from sacred Psalmist and sainted hero. It is true, indeed, that if he were an exceptionally spiritually minded man he could not fail to recognize the fact that there were a few Old Testament passages that conflicted with his natural feelings; and if he were an exceptionally good man, he might forego his desire of vengeance; as no doubt many an Israelite did, and render actual positive help to a Jewish enemy in distress. But to good Israelites generally such isolated precepts were only counsels of perfection, and their fulfilment could not be held necessary to salvation, nor could they be said to possess any higher objective authority than those precepts and examples that conflicted with them in the same sacred books. With these isolated teachings, which represent only the highest the Old Testament was striving towards, let us compare a few of those which are characteristic of and central in the New Testament.

"Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. . . . For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive you" (Matt. vi. 12, 14, 15).

"Whosoever ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one, that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive your trespasses" (Mark xi. 25, 26).

"How often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? Until seven times? Jesus saith unto him: I say not unto thee Until seven times; but Until seventy times seven" (Matt. xviii. 21, 22).

"If thy brother sin against thee, go and show him his fault

between thee and him alone : if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother" (Matt. xviii. 15).

"If thy brother sin, rebuke him ; and if he repent, forgive him. And if he sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times turn again to thee saying, I repent, thou shalt forgive him" (Luke xvii. 3, 4).

"Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and railing be put away from you with all malice : and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God also in Christ forgave you" (Eph. iv. 31).

"Thou hast heard that it was said : Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy ; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you ; that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in heaven ; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust" (Matt. v. 43-45).

Let us now contrast in a few words the teaching of the Old and New Testaments, and herein accept only that which is highest in the former. First, whereas the Old Testament in a few passages denounces the cherishing or manifestation of *personal* resentment against a fellow-countryman, the New Testament requires universally the annihilation of the passion itself as regards fellow-countrymen *and strangers*. Again, while in two or more passages the Old Testament inculcates that a man should do positive kindness to a hostile fellow-countryman *when in distress*, the New Testament everywhere explicitly and implicitly requires him to render such services whether the wrongdoer be Christian or non-Christian, prosperous or the reverse.

We have now before us the startling contrast which the teachings on forgiveness in the Old and New Testaments present. How are we to explain it ? In the past some

scholars have ignored the question, while others have regarded the New Testament doctrine of forgiveness as a wholly original contribution of Christianity. But such a view is no longer possible, now that recent research has brought to light the evidence of the Apocryphal books on this and other New Testament subjects.

A study of the literature that comes between the Old and New Testaments shows that there was a steady development in every department of religious thought in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. This fact has already been fully recognized in the department of eschatology. And on the doctrine of forgiveness new light has come through a critical study of the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs. However, before we discuss the bearing of this work on the development of this doctrine, we must deal with a noteworthy section in Sirach xxvii. 30-xxviii. 7, which attests some advance on the Old Testament doctrine and yet one not so advanced as that in the Testaments. In xxviii. 3-5 Sirach teaches the duty of forgiveness, but in the main as a measure of prudence. Forgiveness is befitting the frailty of sinful man, he urges—

“Man cherisheth anger against a man,
And doth he seek healing from the Lord?
Upon a man like himself he hath no mercy,
And doth he make supplication for his own sins?
He being flesh nourisheth wrath:
Who shall make atonement for his sins?” (xxviii. 3-5).

This advice is good, but strikes no very lofty note. Verses 1 and 2 are, however, some advance on Old Testament doctrine.

“He that taketh vengeance shall find vengeance from the Lord,
And He will assuredly take account of his sins.
Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done unto thee,
And then when thou prayest thy sins shall be loosed. . . .¹

¹ This furnishes an interesting anticipation of Mark xi. 25: “When

Remember thy last end and cease from enmity,
 . . . And be not wroth with thy neighbour."

Here the doctrine of divine retribution makes more explicit the teaching of the Psalmist—

"With the merciful thou shalt show thyself merciful."

Moreover, it is now clearly implied that forgiveness is better in itself than vengeance ; and that a man should forego wrath against his neighbour, for that the Jew who forgives his neighbour is forgiven of God. The recurrence of this teaching in later purely Jewish sources confirms the genuineness of the passage in Sirach, and proves that Jewish thought on the subject of forgiveness was developing on the highest lines laid down in the Old Testament. We might here quote some very fine sayings on this subject from the Talmud. "If a friend be in need of aid to unload a burden, and an enemy to help him to load, one is commanded to help his enemy in order to overcome his evil inclination" (B.M. 32).

Again, "Be of the persecuted, not of the persecutors" (B.Q. 93*b*). And again, "Who is strong? He who turns an enemy into a friend" (Ab. R.N. xxiii.).

These sayings belong to a much later period than that we are dealing with. They are, however, valuable, as we have already observed, as evidence that Jewish sages were developing the best elements of the Old Testament and advancing to conceptions of forgiveness that would have been unintelligible to most Old Testament saints.

Before we leave Sirach we might remark that on the whole we must regard this section on forgiveness as enforcing the wisdom or prudence of forgiveness, if we are to interpret it in character with the practically universal tone of that

ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one ; that your Father also which is in heaven may forgive your trespasses."

author. Notwithstanding it is some advance on Old Testament teaching, and forms in a slight degree a preparatory stage for that of the New Testament. That Judaism after the rise of Christianity did not stop at this immature stage I have already shown. It must be admitted, however, that forgiveness is only incidentally dealt with in Talmudic writings, and is not made the central doctrine of the religious life as it is in the New Testament. On the other hand, there is a genuine Jewish work of the second century B.C. in which a doctrine of forgiveness is taught that infinitely transcends the teaching of Sirach, and is no less noble than that of the New Testament. Moreover, this doctrine of forgiveness does not stand as an isolated glory in the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs as in other Jewish writings, but is in keeping with the entire ethical character of that remarkable book, which proclaims in an ethical setting that God created man in His own image, that the law was given to lighten every man, that salvation was for all mankind, and that a man should love both God and his neighbour.

Let us now turn to this book and to the section in it which formulates the most remarkable statement in pre-Christian Judaism on the subject of forgiveness.

Test. Gad vi. 3. "Love ye one another from the heart ; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile ; and if he confess and repent, forgive him. 4. But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take to swearing, and so thou sin doubly. 6. And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee : yea, he may also honour and be at peace with thee. 7. But if he be shameless and persist in his wrongdoing,

even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging."

These verses show a wonderful insight into the true psychology of the question. So perfect are the parallels in thought and diction between these verses and Luke xvii. 3, Matt. xviii. 15, 35, that we must assume our Lord's acquaintance with them. The meaning of forgiveness in both cases is the highest—and noblest known to us, namely, the restoring the offender to communion with us, which he had forfeited through his offence. And this is likewise the essence of the Divine forgiveness—God's restoration of the sinner to communion with Him, a communion from which his sin had banished him. But our author shows that it is not always possible for the offended man to compass such a perfect relation with the offender, and yet that the offended, however the offender may act, can always practise forgiveness in a very real though limited sense. He can get rid of the feeling of personal wrong, and take up a right and sympathetic attitude to the offender. Thus forgiveness in this sense is synonymous with banishing the feeling of personal resentment, which arises naturally within us when we suffer wrong, and which, if indulged, leads to hate. When we have achieved this right attitude towards the offender, the way is open for his return to a right relation with us. Moreover, so far as we attain this right attitude, we reflect the attitude of God Himself to His erring children.

This is the first and essential duty in all true forgiveness, and it is often all that a man can compass; and apparently the Divine forgiveness has analogous limitations—at all events, within the sphere of the present life.

Returning now to our text, we can better appreciate the thought of our author. If a man does you a wrong, you are first of all to get rid of the feeling of resentment and

then to speak gently to him about his offence. If he admit his offence and repent, you are to forgive him. But if he refuse to admit his offence, there is one thing you must not do : you must not lose your temper lest he get infected by your angry feelings and in addition to his wronging he take to cursing you as well, and thus you become guilty of a double sin—his unbridled passion and his aggravated guilt. In such a case, therefore, you must refrain from further reproof ; for one of two things will take place. The offender, though outwardly denying his guilt, will, when he is reproved, feel a sense of shame or he will not. If he feels a sense of shame, he may repent and honour you and be at peace with you. But if he have no sense of shame and persist in his wrong attitude to you, he in that case must be left to God.

It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of this passage. It proves that in Galilee, the home of the Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs and of other apocalyptic writings, there was a deep spiritual religious life, which having assimilated the highest teaching of the Old Testament on forgiveness, developed and consolidated it into a clear consistent doctrine that could neither be ignored nor misunderstood by spiritually-minded men. This religious development appears to have flourished mainly in Galilee. The section on forgiveness in Sirach is little better than a backwater from the main current of this development, and is of importance as showing that even the Sadducean priest and cultured man of the world could not wholly escape the influence of this bounding spiritual life that had its home in Galilee.

It is further significant that it was not from Judea, the stronghold of Pharisaic legalism, but from Galilee, the land of the religious mystic and ethical eschatologist, that Christ and eleven of His apostles derived their origin and their

religious culture. Christ's twelfth apostle was from Judea.

We shall not be surprised, therefore, that when we come to the Sermon on the Mount we find the teaching of the Testaments is accepted—accepted and yet lifted into a higher plane, and the doctrine of forgiveness carried to its final stage of development. We are to cherish the spirit of forgiveness towards those that have wronged us for two reasons. First, because such is and *always* has been God's spirit towards man; and secondly, because such must be our spirit if we are truly to be His sons. By having God's spirit we show our kinship with God. "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you, that so you may be sons of your Father in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth His rain on the just and on the unjust." And this forgiveness He has proclaimed through His Son, as St. Paul teaches: "Forgiving one another, even as God in Christ hath forgiven you."

Thus divine and human forgiveness, being the same in kind though differing in degree, are linked indissolubly together, and in the heart of the prayer given for the use of all men are set the words which own this transcendent duty, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." The man who forgives his enemy is so far forgiven of God, and has therein, whatever his Church may be, shown his essential kinship with God.

R. H. CHARLES.

THE LAND OF EDOM.

II. THE EASTERN RANGE—MOUNT 'ESAU.

IN the preceding article,¹ the fact was recalled that the Land of Edom extended from the border of the Arabian Desert westward across both of the Syrian mountain-ranges, with the valley of the 'Arabah between them, towards the coast of the Levant where this stretches from el-'Arîsh to near Gaza. We have now to consider separately its well-marked divisions; and we begin with the Eastern Range, the Mount 'Esau of Scripture, so much the more essential part of the territory of Edom that many moderns have been misled into considering it the whole.

1. THE GENERAL STRUCTURE AND FEATURES.

This long and narrow mountain is part of the inner Syrian range which runs from Hermon to the Red Sea, and which consists, save for some volcanic extrusions, throughout its entire extent of the same geological structure; deep limestone beds above a deeper sandstone, which in its turn rests upon crystalline rocks, mainly porphyry and granite. The range, as is well known, owes its formation first to a shrinking, and then to a fracture of the earth's surface. Originally a long billow or fold of mountain, which still rises gently, and in parts almost imperceptibly, from the Arabian Desert, all its western flank was torn and deepened by the great crack or "fault," producing the Jordan-'Arabah Valley into which the range still sinks with varying degrees of abruptness. Of this range Mount 'Esau is the southmost section, some 112 miles long from the Wâdy

¹ EXPOSITOR for October. Add to the bibliography given there Friedr. Jeremias in the *Palästina-jahrbuch*, iii. (1907), 135 ff. (not seen); and Dalman, *Petra u. seine Felsheiligtümer* (1908), and "Topographische Notizen zum Wege nach Petra" in the *Z.D.P.V.* xxxi. (1908), 259 ff.

el-Ĥēsa to the Gulf of 'Akāba and from 25 to 30 miles broad.¹

But while thus essentially a part of the inner Syrian range Mount 'Esau is distinguished from all of this to the north of it by several features of its own. In the first place it is entrenched from the plateau of Moab by the greatest of the cañons which cut the range : the Wādy el-Ĥēsa-Ķerāḥi.² Nor is it cleft by any other such cañon, as Moab and Gilead are cleft, draining entirely to the Jordan or Dead Sea ; but it throws off its waters both upon the Arabian Desert and into the 'Arabah. Again, Mount 'Esau attains a general elevation of from 4,000 to 5,400 feet above sea-level, which is far higher than that of Ḥauran,³ Gilead or Moab, and therefore gives it in parts a climate and an aspect not a little different from theirs. The comparative rainfall has not been determined ; but the temperatures of the high plateau which forms the back of the mountain are lower, and in winter the snow lies deeper and for more days at a time than on the rest of the range to the north ;⁴ while summer

¹ These measurements are made from Musil's map. Buhl, p. 2 (see above, p. 335) gives the length as about 160 kilometres.

² Ĥēsa, sometimes pronounced Ĥēsi, or even Aḥsa, is the name for the upper, Ķerāḥi that for the lower, stretches of the Wādy. See EXPOSITOR for August, 147 f.

³ Except, of course, the Jebel Ḥauran itself.

⁴ Burckhardt, p. 402 : "The climate is extremely agreeable . . . though the heat is very great in summer . . . yet the temperature never becomes suffocating, owing to the refreshing breeze which prevails. . . . The winter is very cold, deep snow falls and the frosts sometimes continue till the middle of March." Irby and Mangles speak of the excessive cold on May 26, "in a latitude more southern than that of the Delta of Egypt" and with a west wind. Palmer, pp. 440-444, describes on the uplands above W. Mûsa snow and hail between April 6 and 10, with 6 inches of snow on the ground and several feet drifting into the tents. Charles Wilson (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, 309) styles the climate as colder than that of Palestine, snowstorms not uncommon in winter and spring, the summer hot, but on the plateau the nights always cool. Musil (*Edom*, i. 269) heard that on the east slope of the Jebel esh-Shera', about 11 miles S.W. of Ma'ân, at a height of 4,200 feet (1,280 m.) the snow had lain in the winter of 1898

travellers from the west are more frequently conscious of resemblances between the higher landscapes and those of Europe.¹ Again, the main crest or comb of the range does not run here, as in Moab, immediately above the great depression to the west of it, but considerably further east, leaving more room between itself and the 'Arabah for lower ranges and shelves of plateau. But most distinctive of this southern section of the range is the manner in which the underlying rocks obtrude, almost for the first time. None of the basal granite or porphyry comes to the surface along either the Jordan Valley or the Dead Sea; while the Nubian sandstone, which lies immediately above them, appears simply as a narrow ribbon across the lower buttresses of Moab. It is far otherwise with Mount 'Esau. The eastward recession of the upper limestones of the range leaves bare to the west great stretches of the basal rocks. So that, whereas looking east upon Moab you see a high and almost unbroken wall of mountain, all limestone save for its lowest courses of purple sandstone, flashing immediately upon the waters of the Dead Sea, the western aspect of Mount 'Esau is far more graded in form and far more varied in colour. From the lacustrine marls and undulating sandhills of the 'Arabah, below or at sea-level or even 500 feet above it, rise, in some places to 2,000 feet, rugged masses of red granite and porphyry; and above these a rich red, yellow and white sandstone in successive levels, with steep escarp-

for four days, and in such masses that it was impossible for the Arabs to leave their tents.

¹ Doughty, i. 39: "The limestone moorland, of so great altitude, resembles Europe, and there are hollow park-like grounds with evergreen oak-timber"; Wilson (*P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, 307): "The general aspect of the limestone plateau is not unlike that of the Sussex Downs or the Yorkshire wolds" (this is more true of Edom than of Moab); Musil (*Edom*, i. 37): "Wir ritten über hohes Durrgras an vielen starken Butm-Bäumen und an dichtem Gebüsch vorbei, und es kam mir vor, als wäre ich plötzlich in einen Europäischen Wald versetzt."

ments between them, and varied not only by dykes of the inferior rocks bursting upwards and by a frequent conglomerate of these with itself, but also by occasional limestone strata which the great "fault" has dragged down from above. The depth of this sandstone formation has been estimated at from 1,500 to 2,000 feet. Over and behind it lie the long white and yellow terraces of the limestone, which forms the crest of the range and the great plateau behind it. The volcanic features, apparently secondary as on the rest of the range, are not so numerous; they consist of basalt blocks and ridges both on the main limestone plateau and in some of the valleys.¹ The mineral resources are meagre; in one place there is some copper, and salt is found in several of the gorges.

The variety of Mount 'Esau is thus far greater than that of the range to the north. Besides the high, cool and stony plateaus, which it shares with the latter but lifts to a greater elevation, its western flank forms a series of successive ridges, shelf-lands and strips of valley, with mazes of peaks, cliffs and chasms forming some of the wildest rock-scenery in the world. Especially characteristic of the sandstone above the 'Arabah are the so-called *Siks*: narrow clefts or corridors between lofty perpendicular rocks.

The whole is singularly well watered. Fairly numerous springs emerge between the porous upper strata and the more impervious lower strata of the limestone, and again at the union of the latter with the sandstone. On the limestone

¹ The principal contributions to the geology of the district have been a few notes in Laborde, *Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée* (1830-3), and Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, ii. (1841); fuller details in John Wilson, *Lands of the Bible* (1843), i. 269 ff., etc.; Louis Lartet, *Exploration Géologique de la Mer Morte, de la Palestine et de l'Idumée* (1878, not seen); Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 434, 455, etc.; Edward Hull, *Memoir on The Physical Geology and Geography of Arabia Petraea, Palestine, etc.* (Pal. Expl. Fund, 1888), with geological maps and sections; and Ch. Wilson, *P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, 307 ff. For the volcanic elements see Irby and Mangles, 115, and several other travellers, especially Musil; cf. Buhl, 11 f.

plateau where no springs appear numerous cisterns preserve some of the winter rainfall, just as on other parts of limestone Palestine, while at different periods dams and reservoirs have intercepted the surface waters both in the shallower and deeper wâdies. The wâdies and graded terraces afford ample opportunity for the distribution of these stores of moisture.

So many different levels and soils, thus fairly well watered, naturally produce a varied vegetation. Almost absolutely treeless on its slopes to the desert,¹ the mountain bears on its broad back and broken western flanks plentiful timber.² There are numberless groves, and some extensive and thick woods of the evergreen oak and of the Buṭm or Terebinth;³ and as extensive but more scattered stretches of juniper, a conifer, with a trunk often a foot in diameter, of hard-grained wood that fetches a high price in Kerak and Ma'ân.⁴ The branches of the egriot or cherry-tree are in demand at Damascus and Gaza for pipe-stems.⁵ The poplar and willow are frequent along the Wâdy el-Hësa and are found elsewhere on the limestone.⁶ Below 3,000 feet flourish the flowering laurel, the oleander, and the tamarisk or ṭarfa tree; some travellers report woods of the last named close above the 'Arabah. The sycomore, that does not grow above a level of 1,000 feet over the sea, is infrequent. The nubḵ or thorn abounds, and the broom or retem. In the wâdies running to the 'Arabah and the Wâdy el-Hësa there are often thick

¹ There are poplars and fruit trees (see below) on the waters at Ma'ân.

² In addition to the separate references given below see for this paragraph especially Chichester Hart, *Some Account of the Fauna and Flora of Sinâi, Petra and the W. Arabah*, 1891 (Pal. Expl. Fund).

³ See above; some of the woods are so extensive that it takes an hour and a half to ride through them: Musil, *Edom*, i. 299.

⁴ Arabic Ar'ar, *Juniperus Phœnicea*, Hart, pp. 38, etc.; Musil, *Edom*, i. 37, who gives a second Arabic name for the wood, luzzâb, i.e., "hard" or "firm," and calls it a dark, almost black cypress.

⁵ Arabic Kerâz; Musil, *Edom*, i. 38.

⁶ Buhl, 13, from Doughty.

bush and reeds; for instance, in the Wâdy Ghuweir a jungle of reeds with palms, acacias, tamarisks and thorn-trees. The honeysuckle, the caper and other trailers are found, and a species of flowering aloe is reported in Wâdy Mûsa.¹

The fruit-trees, to which so great a range of levels is hospitable, are also many. On the limestone the olive, fig and vine flourish as in Palestine with the less frequent pomegranate, also the carob and the mulberry. Most of these are found too on the western sandstones but with less fertility.² Even of the far eastern Ma'ân Doughty reports that the "boughs of her fruit-trees hang over the clay orchard-walls into the inhuman desert."³ Dried acorns are gathered for food, the berries of the terebinth are also eaten, and the black fruit of the juniper manufactured into a sweetmeat.⁴

On the high plateau and elsewhere the winter rains bring up great stretches of a long, thick grass, which is still green in the end of May, but by July and August is withered and hard.⁵ Pasture for sheep, for goats and for oxen is therefore fairly abundant—"the greatest sheep-flocks which I have seen of the Arabs were in the rocky coomb-land between Shobek and Petra"⁶—and even on the hardest slopes of the mountain and out upon the desert there is always

¹ By Irby and Mangles under May 24; not seen by Hart (p. 39) but confirmed, *minus* the flowers, by Dalman, p. 25.

² I have heard Arabs say that the olives of Edom are not to be compared with those of Judaea. Dalman in reporting the pooriness of the olives seems to refer only to a sandstone district (*Petra*, p. 1). Idrisi, 5, says that "the districts esh-Shara' and el-Jebâl are very fertile, producing quantities of olive-trees, almonds," etc. Strabo's statement (XVI. iv. 21) about the Nabatean country that "it produces everything except oil of olives; the oil of sesamum is used"—must be received with caution. It may refer not to Edom but to Arabia Felix.

³ *Arabia Deserta*, i. 33.

⁴ Musil, *Edom*, i. 37 f.

⁵ Doughty, i. 37: "Green is this upland in the ending of May . . . with wild grassy herbage"; Musil, *passim*: "high Durrgras" in August and September.

⁶ Doughty, i. 39.

fodder for camels. Wherever soil lies, barley and wheat may be sown. Even the high stony back of the range is arable, as are many of the hillsides; "in the best sheltered plains are corn-plots, 'ard-ba'al, nourished only by rain."¹ But the richest fields are the higher, shallow wâdies, the wider portions of the deep wâdies, and numerous basins watered by rivulets from the springs or by artificial channels. It is wonderful how rock-cut conduits have rendered fertile at one time or another unpromising shelf-lands on the western slope. The same sources make possible, nearly everywhere in the valleys, gardens of lentils, onions, garlic and other vegetables.

This agriculture was variously exposed to the wilder countries about it. Except when a strong authority ruled the land from Petra or some other centre, with influence along the desert roads east and west, or when the Roman frontier ran down the eastern border, the plateau and its slopes to the desert lay open to the nomad swarms of Arabia and the peasantry could pursue their cultivation, as many of them do to-day, only by blackmail to the Arabs. To this state of life the numerous ruins of watch-towers testify, especially by the principal cisterns on the limestone plateau. All travellers notice how the springs have at one time or another been guarded by little forts or block-houses. The whole of the range is crossed annually by Bedawee tribes migrating between their winter resorts in the 'Arabah and their spring or early-summer pastures east of the Hajj road.² When under the control of a secure government these nomads would be welcomed by the fellâhin for the sake of the trade they engendered and the money they paid for stubble and water for their flocks;³ but in times of disorder they must

¹ Ibid. Musil (*Edom*, ii. 239) contrasts the fertility of the main range with the barrenness of its eastern spurs.

² Musil, *Edom*, ii. 15.

³ Cf. Numbers xx. 19.

have rendered much of the cultivation precarious and unprofitable.¹ Nevertheless the narrowness of the western defiles and the enclosure of many of the most fertile basins by precipitous or easily defended ridges of rock have secured in certain localities the persistence of a settled population and of agriculture down through all kinds of political conditions to the present day. It was, therefore, not only under a strong Edomite state, but in part also at all other periods, that the description of the Hebrew prophet remained true : *Dweller in the clefts of the rock, the height is his habitation : that saith in his heart, Who shall bring me down to earth ?*

Mount 'Esau is, thus, a well-watered, richly stocked and variously accessible country, whose self-sufficiency under a strong government is attested no less by the ruins which imply a large ancient population with a vigorous and profitable agriculture than by the secure and arrogant temper imputed to them by their neighbours of Israel. They must have had some surplus of several kinds for their trade with Arabia, Egypt and Syria ; especially timber, oil, copper and cattle. But it is singular that, with the possible exception of cattle and the certain exceptions of aromatic and medicinal herbs and of the vegetable alkali, we do not learn from either Jewish or Greek writers of any Edomite exports.² Even if in Ezekiel's list of the customers of

¹ Obadiah 3 ; cf. Jeremiah xlix. 16.

² The exception is suggested by Isaiah lx. 7 : *the rams of Nebaiôth*, and the statement of Eupolemus (*Fragm. Histor. Græc.*, iii. 226) of the importation of cattle to Judah from Arabia. But in neither case is the reference to Edom more than possible. See, however, Strabo XVI. iv. 18 : "*Nabataea*, a country well peopled and abounding in cattle" ; 26 : "The sheep have white fleeces, their oxen are large, but the country produces no horses. Camels are used instead." Pliny (xxi. 72) says that "the most esteemed kind of the sweet-scented rush is that which grows in Nabatea with the name *teuchites*," and he explains its medicinal properties. If this be the Lemon-grass (*Andropogon Schoenanthus*), it is found in Arabia ; cf. Jerem. vi. 20 : *incense from Sheba and sweet cane from a far country* ; Isa. xliii. 24, Exod. xxx. 23. Burckhardt (p. 411) reports that the Arabs

Tyre we ought to read with some versions *Edom* instead of *Aram*, the context gives us no information on the point.¹ The sources of the bitumen which the Nabatean possessors of Mount 'Esau exported to the Greek world lay, of course, outside the territory of Edom proper.

The treasures of 'Esau, and the wealth generally attributed to their successors the Nabateans, were rather due to their command of the transit trade from Arabia and the Gulf of 'Akabah to the Levant and Palestine as described in the previous article. Amos implies that they were slave-traders.²

2. THE PRINCIPAL DIVISIONS.

We have seen that Mount 'Esau, unlike the rest of the range to the north, is cut by no wâdies draining right through it from the Desert. Yet while this is so the mountain is crossed by other less marked lines of structure which appear to have parted it at all times, as certainly to-day, into different divisions under distinctive names. First of all about 30 miles (48 kilometres) south of the Wâdy el-Hësa the range which has risen to a tableland of about 4,900 feet (1,500 m.) and even to a summit of 5,280 feet (1,640 m.),³ is cleft, north-west south-east, from the 'Arabah almost to the watershed by the broad and profound Wâdy el-Ghuweir; and, a little south from the sources of this but just across the watershed (which is somewhat lower here than either to the north or to the south), starts the long Wâdy abul-Hammâm running south-east into the Desert. This diagonal line, near the centre of which stands the fortress of Shôbak, forms the

gather Kali in the mountains of esh-Shera' and "go to Gaza to sell the soap-ashes."

¹ Ezek. xxvii. 16, for the Massoretic אֶרֶם, 6 Hebr. MSS., Aquila and the Peshitto read אֶרֶם, while the LXX read at least the consonants ארם.

² Amos i. 9; cf. Obadiah 14.

³ These are Musil's figures.

boundary between two districts known respectively as el-Jebâl to the north and esh-Shera' to the south. Sir Charles Wilson describes the natural division as "the Shobek gap."¹ Herr Musil gives the political frontier as the Wâdy abu-l-Hammâm. More exactly Dr. Dalman reports the latter to be the shallow sidd Daḥdil which runs into the top of the Wâdy el-Ghuweir, and separates the ḳada or administrative district of eṭ-Tafileh, deriving its name from the chief town of el-Jebâl, from the ḳada of Ma'ân, the chief town of esh-Shera'.²

The name el-Jebâl is sometimes given by the fellâḥîn as an equivalent for eṭ-Tafileh, the chief town of the section and its suburbs ;³ but its proper application is to the whole district. The name is no recent one. It occurs in a Hebrew Psalm as Gēbâl,⁴ in association with such other general terms as Edom, Moab and Ammon. Both by the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch,⁵ and by the Jerusalem Targum⁶ it is used to render the Hebrew Se'îr. In the Talmud it appears to be applied both to the district and to a town.⁷ Josephus gives the Greek form Gobolitis as the name of part of Idumaea ;⁸ and mentions the Gebalitai along with the Amalekites and Edomites as the object of Amaziah's expedition.⁹ Eusebius and Jerome give Gebalēnē as equivalent to Idumaea.¹⁰ Two things are significant about this name, its origin and its meaning. Jebâl is an Arabic word, the plural of Jebel, and means "mountains." Consequently

¹ *P.E.F.Q.*, 1899, 320.

² *Z.D.P.V.*, xxxi. 265 f.

³ Musil, i. 316 : there is also a seyl (stream) el-Jebâl, Id. 317 and map.

⁴ Psalm lxxxiii. 8.

⁵ E.g., Deut. xxxiii. 2.

⁶ E.g., on Genesis xxxii. 4 ; 1 Chron. i. 38.

⁷ *Talmud Bab.* "Ketubôth," cited by Neubauer, *Géog. de Talmud*, 67 ; "Abod. sara," 59a.

⁸ ii. *Ant.* i. 2 ; iii. *Ant.* ii. 1 : in the latter passage along with Petra.

⁹ ix. *Ant.* ix. 1.

¹⁰ *Onom. sacr. sub voce Γεθעד*, and elsewhere ; they also use the form Gebalitica.

it does not appear in Hebrew literature till after the exile, when the Edomites had been driven from Mount 'Esau by their Arabian successors. Again the name is not distinctive of the section to which it is applied, when this is seen from the west; for *the whole* of Mount 'Esau appears from this direction to be broken up into "mountains." But if we approach the range from Arabia, the southern section of the Mount, esh-Shera', presents itself as one continuous declivity; while el-Jebâl is a ridge dominated by high black summits, and running out into several other ridges.¹ The appropriateness of the name on the Arabian side is therefore obvious.

The name esh-Shera' has nothing to do with Sē'îr, as has been sometimes supposed. It may be connected with the Arabic root shara', to lie exposed to the air and the sun, so as to become dry. Dr. Dalman has suggested that the name appears in that of the Nabatean deity, the chief god of Petra, Du-shara', equivalent to *He of Shara*'.²

The Arab geographers seem sometimes to have combined the name with that of its neighbour to the north Jebâl esh-Shera', as if one province; and at other times to have extended the name Shera' alone over the whole of Mount of 'Esau, with Zughar, or Zo'ar, at the south end of the Dead Sea as its capital. But again they sometimes more correctly confine it to the southern part of Mount 'Esau, with Odhruh as its capital.³

From the northern beginning of esh-Shera', properly the Jebel el-Hîsheh, the range rises south and mainly on two parallel ridges, one of which reaches a summit of 5,412 feet (1,650 metres) and then declines somewhat till it sinks in the Gebel el-Hafir (or Kafir) to the plain Kedriyyât.

¹ Musil, i. 2; ii. 14.

² *Petra*, p. 49.

³ Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 32, 24, etc.

Here the division esh-Shera' finds its southern frontier : a genuine geographical limit, for here the upper limestone formations of the range come to an end, all to the south is sandstone, and the mountains run, according to Musil, no longer north and south, but east and west.¹

This region forms the next distinctive division of our territory and is known as el-Ḥisma or Ḥesma, the formation and the name stretching far eastward into Arabia. El-Ḥisma consists of a high sandstone plateau with numerous truncated cones, and, upon the west, of bare hills in two grades ; according to Doughty, "a forest of square-built platform mountains which rise to two thousand feet above the plain, the heads may be nearly six thousand feet [about 1,800 metres] above sea level."² Burckhardt says that "Ḥesma is higher than any part of Schera"³; on Musil's map no figures are given for the altitude of el-Ḥisma. On the south it falls upon the granite formations round the Gulf of 'Akaba.

The only other definite divisions that it is necessary to mention are Iram, "a black mountain landscape,"⁴ south-east of the plateau of el-Ḥisma; and el-Jafar, a swampy district east of esh-Shera', into which all the eastern waters of the latter flow and die out.

The next article will treat the detailed topography, towns, etc.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

¹ The above data are derived from Burckhardt (pp. 435 ff.). Doughty (i. 45, etc.), and Musil (*Edom*, i. pp. 2, 265, 270, etc.), who gives the most distinct details. It is he who contributes the datum of 1650 m. Brünnow's highest figure is 1615 m. (*Die Provincia Arabia*, vol. i. ; while Blanckenhorn contributes one as high as 1709 m. (*Die Hedschaz-Bahn*, 57).

² Doughty, i. 46.

³ Burckhardt, 729.

⁴ Musil, i. 4.

DR. G. A. SMITH ON JERUSALEM.

(SECOND NOTICE.)

THE second half of Dr. Smith's first volume will be of special interest to many readers, because the subject with which it deals, the internal administration of the Jewish state, is comparatively fresh, and one to which the author is known to have devoted careful study. His presentation of the evidence on this topic will be found to be both more detailed and more vivid than any which has previously been attempted.

"The Multitude," to which reference is so often made in the Gospels and by Josephus, deserved the elaborate and eloquent study which constitutes the last chapter. The power of the people, of which the notices are exhaustively collected, is traced to the institutions of the primitive Semitic tribe, called by Robertson Smith "as democratic a society as existed in the ancient world." Through all the vicissitudes undergone by the nation between nomad days and its constitution into a Roman province, "the Multitude" takes some part in the performance, more often as audience, or at best chorus, than as actor. Of whom did it consist? Perhaps the materials for solving this interesting problem do not exist. In Rome it appears to have been at one time a question of race, at another of property qualification, whether a man belonged to the few or to the many. In the Greek states the criterion was less definite, but probably Sparta, where the distinction was racial, would serve as a norm for the rest. The Fourth Gospel (vii. 49) suggests that the criterion in Judaea was one of education; the Multitude were those who had not been trained in the Law, as opposed to the Rulers and Pharisees. This agrees very well with the later Rabbinical

tradition, and its employment of the term "People of the Land." It is not indeed easy to understand how it would work, since members of the same families might belong to one group or the other ; and if the Jewish sects resembled those existing in other communities, they must have had both learned and unlearned adherents. But before the study of the Law became a serious occupation, the criterion must have been different, yet it is not easy to guess what it was.

The doings of the multitude, as illustrated in Dr. Smith's pages, indicate that the application of the word "democratic" to any Semitic community is infelicitous. Belonging originally to Greek political terminology, its associations have no analogue in the history of the Eastern Semites—though that of Carthage and her colonies might have supplied something of the kind. A democracy, according to one definition, is a state in which offices are assigned by the lot. In the "primitive Semitic tribe" there were no offices to assign—there was as yet no organization of bureaux and portfolios. Or a democracy might be defined as a community in which legislation was entrusted to a public assembly, where every citizen had a vote, and decisions were carried by a majority. We, who know so many details of Greek and Roman voting, know nothing of the way in which Arabs or Israelites voted, apparently because they did not vote. We do not (to the best of the present writer's knowledge) hear of primitive Semitic tribes deciding by show of hands in what direction they should seek fresh pastures : they would be guided by a camel. We do not hear of trials by jury in which a majority of jurors made an award. Some prophet or prophetess, supposed to be divinely inspired, was asked, *moyennant* a fee, to decide.

The total absence of any belief in the wisdom, or the

rights, or the power of the majority explains the part which the multitude plays in Israelitish history from beginning to end. Force and authority they do understand; the utmost to which their efforts can rise is to substitute one form of these for another. The revolt against the tyranny of Rehoboam does not lead to a *magna charta*, but to the creation of a new despot. If we had a more detailed history of that event, we should probably find that Jeroboam's calves played a very important part therein. Where force was on one side and authority on the other, the latter went to the wall. So the fact that the people believed John to be a prophet did not prevent the Tetrarch from imprisoning him, and then beheading him to gratify a woman's caprice; it prevented the "chief priests and elders of the people" from maligning him, for they had no force behind their backs. Caligula desired his statue to be erected at Jerusalem, and the governor Petronius thought the "multitude" would die rather than see this done; whence at the risk of his own life he refused to carry out the imperial decree. Herod, who understood the multitude better than Petronius, would not have hesitated. He would have known that resistance was to be apprehended only from a few devotees, whom the multitude would admire, but would not back.

Dr. Smith's second volume consists of a history of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for which both critical labours on the surviving literature of the Jews and the most recent archaeological investigations have been utilized to the fullest extent. So far as the term conservative has in these days a meaning, when applied to Biblical history, it may be predicated of his attitude towards it. It is of great interest to watch the development of morality in any age, and the mode in which he speaks of Deuteronomy shows how fast we are advancing. Some thirty years

ago the act of those who put together a book and fathered it in the most unmistakeable way on Moses was regarded as shocking, not even defensible on artistic grounds, since glaring internal evidence of fabrication had been left. Presently, however, some apologies were found for what at best seemed a doubtful proceeding. But now in 1908 we find a theologian of whose earnest belief there can be no question eulogizing the act in a passage of great eloquence and pathos.

“Moses did not complete the elevating and purifying process. By Israel’s faith in a living God this continued through the subsequent centuries. We have seen it at work under the kings and priests of Judah ; it was no less active through the early prophets of the north. Then came the further revelation of God by the prophets of the eighth century, and the light which this reflected alike on the religious practices of the nation and the new temptations which came to them from abroad. Simultaneously the possibilities of conserving and developing these religious gains from so long a divine guidance were being manifestly limited by the events of history to Jerusalem and the Temple. For so great a crisis, for so divine a call, a gifted school of writers in Judah were found sufficient. Equally alive to the real origins of their religion under Moses and to the workings of God’s Spirit in their own day, they recast the ancient laws of Israel in the temper of the prophets and with regard to the changed historical conditions of the nation. In particular they were concerned with some religious practices which their fathers had pursued without questioning, but which recent experience had shown to be dangerous to a spiritual faith. . . . Hence the sincerity, the vitality, the power of the work they produced. Deuteronomy is a living and a divine book, because, like every other religious reformation in which

God's Spirit may be felt, it is at once loyal to the essential truth revealed in the past, while daring to cast off all tradition, however ancient and sacred, that in practice has become dangerous and corruptive, vigilant to the new perils and exigencies of faith and receptive of the fresh directions of the living God for their removal or conquest."

Why did they say that Moses had spoken these words (as "recast" by themselves) "in the fortieth year, in the eleventh month, on the first day of the month"? There does not appear to be an eloquent paragraph in praise of this "terminological inexactitude," except that it is admitted that the primitive Deuteronomy (to which it may be supposed that the eulogies apply) probably began at chap. iv., and so had not those words. To another obvious question, viz., Why did the authors, when their object was the centralization of worship at Jerusalem, refuse to mention the city's name?—an answer is attempted: "the authors of the policy were more concerned to state the religious principle involved in it, than to advocate the claims of a particular locality. Nor did the latter need to be asserted. Jerusalem was the only possible candidate for the unique position designated by Deuteronomy." The audience might not know which were the Cities of refuge, whence they have to be named; they might be unaware of the place assigned to mountains Ebal and Gerizim in the cult, and are instructed; but that the place to be chosen out of all their tribes was Jerusalem was too obvious to deserve mention, when the authors' purpose was to condemn all other places of worship. It is not for the present writer to say whether this answer is satisfactory or not. Is it really possible to distinguish the principle involved from the application to this extent? The compilers of the Code, then, were more anxious that worship should be centralized at "the place chosen by the Lord."

than that it should be at Jerusalem. But if each sanctuary had round it a halo of association and patriarchal romance, it would have been unsafe to leave it to the hearer's intuition to say which sanctuary was meant. The time at which Jerusalem was the "only possible candidate" could not have been the time at which the dogma "one God, one Temple" was contentious matter. For it would appear that every sanctuary had some well-grounded claim to be considered the chosen spot.

Some very powerful and impressive passages could be quoted from the account of Isaiah's life and work. As might be expected, the more radical views, which leave the Prophet very little of the matter traditionally ascribed to him, are not accepted; and the picture of Jerusalem drawn from the casual utterances and phrases of the Prophet (ii. 134-137) is extraordinarily vivid and convincing. The merits of the historical Isaiah are generously appreciated: "he was the first to set Jerusalem on high among the nations"; "the attempt to sublimate (?) a great intellect like Isaiah's till it is confined to one consistent line of thought and activity can be achieved only by grave injustice at once to the genius of the Prophet, to the text of his undoubted oracles, and to such evidence as we have of the religious exigencies of his time"; "Jerusalem may be said to be Isaiah's Jerusalem even more than she was David's or Solomon's."

"Undoubted oracles" of the Prophet scarcely exist; in a work published a few weeks ago, ostensibly embodying the latest results of "criticism," many of the passages on which Dr. Smith draws for his picture of Jerusalem are assigned to a far later hand; and the French critic who regards the whole book as a forgery by one hand of the third century B.C. is probably not without adherents; for the simplicity of his hypothesis commends it. While

the assertion that Isaiah (in a sense) made Jerusalem is to be cordially applauded, it is worth observing how little honour this prophet appears to have had in his own country. The Chronicler knows of him as a historian, and as one who prayed with Hezekiah when the invasion of the Assyrians took place; the glorious part which he (according to other authorities) played in connexion with that and other events is overlooked in this late compendium of Jewish history. "Ezra" knows that Jeremiah prophesied the Return, but fails to quote the Prophet who named his son "Shear-jashub." Of Isaiah II. and Isaiah III., orators as gifted as Isaiah I., neither history nor tradition has preserved a trace. The reason for this will only be discovered when some authentic literary history of Israel is found.

The few fragments which "criticism" leaves the Prophet would scarcely justify Dr. Smith's estimate of his importance, but the whole work, by whatever authors, and at whatever time compiled, bears it out. And in history what is thought about a factor in its working is of consequence, not what is the truth about it. "Jerusalem the golden," the city blazing with gems, which was to belong to a new dispensation, and could part company with its earthly prototype to be located in heaven, seems to be a creation of one of the later Isaiahs rather than of the first—if there were many. Nor, perhaps, does the state of our knowledge justify the assertion that any doctrine of the first Isaiah was preached by him for the first time. But that the name Isaiah played an extraordinary part in making Jerusalem the praise of the earth is rightly emphasized.

In the post-exilian history the conservative tendencies of the author are perhaps more decidedly apparent than in that of the earlier periods, and his treatment of the

problems connected with the rebuilding of the city and the work of Ezra and Nehemiah will be found luminous. Was Ezra an invention of a later age, or a historical personage? The reply to the powerful essay of Torrey, who asserted the former, is given on page 330. "To the theory as a whole two answers at once suggest themselves. So lavish and detailed a story can hardly be conceived as developing except from the actual labours of a real and impressive personality. And against the hypothesis that a later generation of priests, jealous for the history of their order, invented a man learned in the Law as colleague to the layman Nehemiah, may be urged the necessity of the actual appearance of such a man in the conditions in which Nehemiah found himself at Jerusalem." If Wellhausen's assertion be true, that the Rabbis were the boldest of historical romancers, the first of these arguments will be of doubtful force; the power required to invent Ezra seems small compared with that which gave the world the Tabernacle, Aaron, Joshua, and many other persons and institutions. On the other hand, the argument that "a layman like Nehemiah could hardly have ventured to enforce the religious reforms to which he was obliged after his work upon the walls was completed without some more authoritative exposition of the Divine Law than he himself could give" seems to be introducing the modern notions of laity and clergy. It would rather seem that in Israel from the time of Jeroboam (if not earlier) to that of Herod the ruler ordinarily arranged religious matters as he thought fit, without waiting for the advice of the priest. It would also seem that it was an accident whether the person learned in the Law were a priest or not; if the Law had at any time been a monopoly of the priests, the profession of Scribe could not have been instituted without some violent revolution, of which there is no record. Hence

it can scarcely be hoped that this reasoning will weigh heavily with the followers of Torrey. Nor does Dr. Smith undertake to reconcile the narratives of Ezra and Nehemiah without resorting to the hypothesis that those narratives have undergone serious mutilation, transposition and corruption. His reconstruction of the history on this basis appears, however, to be exceedingly satisfactory, and likely to obtain confirmation from those sources whence some final solutions of Old Testament problems may now be hoped.

One other discussion to which some notice may be given is that on the Jew and the Greek, occupying much of chap. xv. It may be thought by some readers that matter [is introduced into this which properly belongs elsewhere—e.g., the exquisite account of Ecclesiastes, who is brought to Jerusalem, although an inhabitant of that city, with Jordan and the Dead Sea almost before his eyes, could not (unless hopelessly unobservant) have uttered the proposition that “all the rivers run into the sea.” However the effect of the meeting between the two civilizations appears to be analysed with no less skill than eloquence, with the causes that brought about alternations of friendliness and hostility. Many of the phenomena can be illustrated from what goes on in the present day, when the stagnant Oriental mind is confronted with the intellectually active West. There is an excellent friend of the reviewer in Cairo, whose time is devoted to the composition of books in which the anticipation by the Koran of Evolution and other discoveries of modern science is demonstrated; another asserts boldly that European political philosophy is taken from Ibn Khaldun, an author as familiar to the English as was Moses to the Greeks. Like Aristobulus, such writers “succeed only in showing how much their own minds are governed by” what are the modern

equivalents for "the Greek language and the Greek methods." Between Herod the Great, the magnificent patron at once of the national religion and of foreign progress and civilization, and Mohammed Ali there is a curious family likeness. Nor would it be difficult to name persons and classes in whose minds acquaintance with Europe and its ways produces nothing but abhorrence, and the desire to avoid all contamination with it. Nor could we find it hard to point out those who would, if they could, earn with Moslems a reputation similar to that which Antiochus Epiphanes gained from the Jews. An earnest and esteemed writer has recommended that some European power should destroy Meccah, believing that fanaticism which constitutes a danger to mankind should be scotched. This appears to have been the idea entertained by Epiphanes; and if his knowledge of human nature and of other matters proved to be at fault, the number of his fellow-culprits takes away from the heinousness of his offence. Since his aim was in part to abolish a variety of barbarous practices which were abolished by far higher authority a couple of centuries later, it is not clear that sympathy in the struggle between him and the Jews should wholly be on the side of the latter.

The reviewer has held it to be more respectful to Dr. Smith to submit some of his opinions to consideration than to string together eulogies, which, however well deserved, might prove wearisome. That the two volumes on Jerusalem will for many years count as the standard authority on the subjects with which they deal he is not disposed to doubt.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

*PROFESSOR MAYOR AND THE HELVIDIAN
HYPOTHESIS.*

It will be remembered that in opening his criticism of my article on the Brethren of the Lord Professor Mayor laid a double charge against me : he said that I did wrong in trying to tie him down to a single quotation from Tertullian, and that I was guilty of unfairness towards him in saying that "it is on certain scriptural statements alone that the half-brother theory rests its case." This view of the matter was repudiated by him with some warmth, and he declared that while the scriptural evidence is, in his judgment, conclusive in itself, he also considers that "there is an amplitude of confirmatory evidence which we have no right to ignore." Those who have followed this discussion will be aware that the examination of the New Testament evidence has left the theory in a very nebulous condition, and that it is just such independent testimony which my critic promised that should be produced if the misgivings suggested at every turn by the detailed criticism are to be counteracted. They will therefore have turned to the August number with no less keen interest than myself to see what information relevant to the subject had been overlooked by me or wherein I had misinterpreted the testimony derivable from early Christian writers ;—only however to be met with blank disappointment. The claim made in such specific terms seems to have passed from my opponent's mind, for I find no mention of it in this part of his re-statement ; and instead of giving us abundance of evidence that the brethren were the children of Blessed Mary our author suavely informs us that he means to "consider what light we may gather from tradition upon this subject," and produces not a tittle of positive support for his contention.

But failure at this crucial point implies nothing short of

abandonment of hope to substantiate his case from non-scriptural sources. Nor does the manner in which Professor Mayor endeavours to cover his retreat avail to conceal how completely he has given up his case. Through twenty pages he writes in a scholarly but leisurely way, discoursing many interesting subjects so entirely irrelevant to the matter in hand, as, for instance, the abstrusely mystical view of inspiration deduced by Clement of Alexandria from the tradition that our Lord's nativity was *illaesa virginitate*; or the tolerant way in which Justin Martyr contemplates the possibility of converts from Judaism accepting the Messiahship of our Lord without subscribing to His miraculous conception; or again, he devotes fully a fifth of his space to the puerilities and inaccuracies of Epiphanius though he still professes to be answering my arguments, and admits that I had carefully dissociated myself from that profuse and unreliable writer: but he never attempts to get into a close grip with the question between us, nor does he show any desire to press towards a definite goal, nor to suggest to the mind of his readers any clear results to which he is leading them.

Thus there is little for me to answer, and I have no intention of taxing the patience of my readers or of trespassing on the courtesy of the Editor by following my critic in his holiday rambles among the Ebionites and the Apocryphal Gospels; but, as briefly as I can, I will examine his statements where he does trouble to deal with matter in dispute and explain why I think him to be utterly at fault in his interpretation.

Professor Mayor, with his love for having it both ways, bids me not to rely on great names, and enunciates an ideal for the historical student which is too long to reproduce in full, but of which the kernel lies in these words, *Non tam auctoritas in disputando quam rationis momenta quaerenda sunt*

and then naïvely tries to transfer three of my best men to his own side ! And how does he endeavour to rob me of them ? Lightfoot, he thinks, would have changed his mind had he lived long enough to read Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. When Westcott said that "most probably the Epiphanian view is the correct one," he was only indicating that "he hesitatingly accepts Lightfoot's conclusion." So I suppose we ought to say that *Hesitancy*, as the chief factor in the conduct of life, forms the main argument of one section of Butler's *Analogy* ! And perhaps best of all, if Hort speaks of James as "He who was known as the Lord's brother," he was doing no more than implying a "wish to avoid all disputable matter" ; it never having occurred to that acute mind apparently that a simpler way to achieve this in a matter entirely outside his argument would have been to hold his tongue, as Mr. Rackham most provokingly has done in his excellent commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles*.

Turning aside, then, from his original purpose, my critic undertakes instead to show that "there was no original historical tradition to the effect that the brethren were sons of Joseph by a former marriage," with, however, little better steadfastness of purpose, for at the end of eight pages he reaches the wholly distinct conclusion that the Doctrine of the Perpetual Virginity at the end of the second century was "apparently unknown in the Churches of Carthage and Rome, and was only held by a minority in the Church of Alexandria, and, as far as we can judge, was discountenanced in Palestine as early as 160 A.D. by Hegesippus, in whose lifetime it had probably been promulgated for the first time by the author of the *Protevangelium*." This statement practically comprises all that Professor Mayor contributes to the discussion in this part of his defence of the theory, so I propose to examine its precise value historically.

But before doing so I would draw attention to my critic's

tone of assurance where everyone but he confesses to finding himself groping in the dark. Speaking generally of this period, Lightfoot complains of the "faint light which glimmers over the Church of the second century"; and, a disproportionate share of this being shed on the Church of Antioch, he says of the African Church that her "infancy is wrapt in hopeless darkness"; and of the Church of Rome that her "early history is wrapt in obscurity." And the late Dr. Salmon admirably expressed the predicament of the historical student by his illustration of a *tunnel* through which for much of the way we have to steal along, peering as we best can at ill-defined forms which may be the material we desiderate but of which we can speak with no certainty. But where all others are well-nigh baffled Professor Mayor stalks through undeterred, and because he has seen no more than they boldly declares that what is not seen is non-existent.

To come, then, to his confident and sweeping assertion, I would, in the first place, point out that in ascribing the origin of the elder brother theory to the author of the *Protevangelium* he is flying in the face of evidence accepted by himself, since Origen speaks of it expressly as *a tradition recorded in that work* (ἐκ παραδόσεως τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου), and this is corroborated by its occurrence in the *Gospel of Peter*.

What, then, I have to deal with is the evidence of Hegesippus and Tertullian; the former of which I learn for the first time *discountenanced*¹ the theory; and the latter, I am told, expresses not his own opinion merely, but discloses the mind of the Western Church up to his time.

The testimony of Hegesippus. The process by which Professor Mayor reaches his conclusion that the Church in Palestine did not countenance the doctrine of the Perpetual Virginity is as quaint as it is ingenious. He first endeavours

¹ Hitherto Professor Mayor has been content to say that the language of Hegesippus is "quite consistent" with his own view.

to show that the following statement—*Jude, who was called His* (i.e., the Lord's) *brother according to the flesh*—does not imply, as Lightfoot thought it did, that “the brotherhood of these brethren, like the fatherhood of Joseph, was reputed, but not real.” This he does by asking us, apparently in all seriousness, to put it on a level with the intensely theological passage in Romans i, 3, where St. Paul, in enunciating the central truth of Christianity (i.e. the Messiahship and Divine Sonship of Christ), declares that the Lord was son of David *κατὰ σάρκα*, [and *κατὰ πνευμὰ ἁγίωσύνης* Son of God. So, he says, “If Jude were son of Joseph and Mary, he might be called *κατὰ σάρκα*, but not *κατὰ πνευμὰ*, brother of Jesus. Poor Jude ! We are then to say, It is idle for him to claim to be the brother of James who laid down his life for the Lord; and no less vain is it for him to write such glowing words as these :—*Ye, beloved, building up yourselves on your most holy faith, praying in the Holy Ghost, keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life* : for he still “*stands without*,” and the historian who is eloquent over that brother's martyrdom and extols his (Jude's) children as *Champions of the Faith* has no meed of praise for him, but can think of him as *σαρκικός* only, not *πνευματικός* !

It seems a pity to spoil all this special pleading by reminding the reader that Lightfoot's point has been avoided, the word to which he attached importance being “called” (*λεγομένου*) not that discussed above, *κατὰ σάρκα*.

Then my critic denies that the language of Eusebius is less ambiguous than that of Hegesippus : he who bade us in reading our Bibles to let “brother” mean “brother” neither more nor less,—(*uterine brothers*, he used to call them)—now blandly asks whether these men, if sons of Joseph and Mary, would not three hundred years later be quite naturally spoken of as the “reputed brothers of the Lord.”

But Eusebius does not leave us in doubt as to his attitude, as the following shows plainly enough. "This James was called the brother of the Lord because he was known as the son of Joseph, and Joseph was supposed to be the father of Christ." Few will hesitate to agree with Professor McGiffert in thinking this conclusive on the point since "had he considered James the son of Mary he could not have spoken in this way."

Professor Mayor also ignores the significance of Origen's close association with Palestine, and I think I may claim that he has quite failed to establish his case or to shake the position taken up in my article with regard to the testimony of Hegesippus.

The value of Tertullian's statements. All who have made a study of this writer know that we cannot be too cautious in building on stray words of his. "Tertullian, though a powerful, is not a fair arguer," says the Bishop of Birmingham, and does not hesitate to make the most of any word that tells in his immediate favour regardless of contingent consequences. The sentences quoted from him by Professor Mayor offer an instance of this; the man who in the year 203 revels in his distinction between *mulier* and *virgo* (*De Virg. Vel.* 6) could hardly have had in mind what he had already written some eight or ten years previously in his *De Oratione*, where he says that girls by mere lapse of age become women, "for both in their bodies and in their functions they are transferred to the class of women. None is a virgin from the time she is able to marry, since age in her hath already married its own husband, that is, time" (section 22). And further the attitude of Hilary of Poitiers warns us against too readily drawing any such conclusion as that of my critic from the words. Hilary was an enthusiastic disciple of Tertullian and incorporates in his commentary on the First Gospel part of the passage quoted by

Professor Mayor, yet we know that he was a whole-hearted believer in the Perpetual Virginity.¹

It is only necessary to add that, granting the fact that Tertullian knows nothing of the doctrine of the Perpetual Virginity, we have still to decide the question whether he or Hegesippus—or, if my critic prefers it, the Church of Carthage or Palestine—is the more faithful to historical facts. And we find that, where we can test them, Hegesippus is the surer guide. There were two theories as to the Roman Episcopate; the one, endorsed by Tertullian, that Clement was ordained by St. Peter; and the other, associated with the names of Hegesippus and Irenaeus, which gave the succession through Linus, Cletus, Clement; the latter being undoubtedly the correct form.

I would therefore sum up this question by granting that my critic may possibly be right in claiming Tertullian, in which case, in common with Epiphanius and St. Jerome, I was in error in ascribing the origin of this theory to Helvidius, and must admit that there may have been a school dating so far back as Tertullian which accepted it.

But however uncertain the position of Tertullian may be, I do not think that the main question is in doubt, for there are indications in most unlikely places of the prevalence of the Palestinian tradition. For instance there is the phenomenon of the doctrine of the Perpetual Virginity being traceable in heretical writings. Professor Mayor alludes to the *Docetic* tone of the Gospel of Peter, but does not stop to think how this tells against his case. In a review of Harnack's book on the Apostles' Creed, a writer refers to this as "a piece of evidence of immense importance."² The author argues that

¹ So too St. Augustine, a firm believer in the Perpetual Virginity, when dealing in a practical manner with the question of matrimony, declares the union of Joseph and Mary to have been a true *conjugium*.

² *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1893, p. 480.

the Perpetual Virginity as a deduction, and not a necessary deduction, from Blessed Mary's virginal conception of our Lord is in the last degree unlikely to have been first drawn in the Docetic circles from which the Gospel of Peter emanated. He goes on to say that "we seem irresistibly led to the conclusion . . . that a comparatively remote deduction from it (i.e. the Virgin-Birth) passed over by about 125 A.D. into the Gospel narrative of a heresy which . . . must have rejected the reality of the Virgin-Birth itself . . ."

We meet the same contradictory phenomenon in the recently discovered *Syr.-Sin. Palimpsest*, which reproduces a codex of the earliest date, worked on in all probability by a thoroughly heretical scribe; so much so indeed as to require very drastic treatment at the hands of the orthodox librarian, even to erasure with a knife. Yet here too the emphasis laid on the virginity of Blessed Mary is most marked: *Mary the Virgin* she is called; "as it were *κατ' ἐξοχήν*" being the Bishop of Birmingham's comment.¹ To discuss the above phrase as a title would carry us too far afield, but I think that there is much to be said for it quite independently of Epiphanius. If I am not mistaken, the earliest writers ordinarily speak of *the birth of a virgin* without any mention of her name when treating of the Incarnation, but the term *Mary the Virgin* occurs so early as Justin Martyr when dealing with the woman in contrast with Eve.²

Nor can I enter here on a discussion of the rapid growth of virginity among women in the early Church. It is a subject which has yet to be investigated by a competent scholar. But I am confident that the explanation suggested by Professor Mayor in the last part of his re-statement will not bear scrutiny. It would necessitate our putting back the date of the Apocryphal Gospels fully fifty years, and would then

¹ Gore, *Dissertations*, p. 295.

² *Dialogue* 100.

involve us in chronological difficulties. Justin Martyr relates that in his time there were "many men and women of sixty and seventy years of age who from their childhood have been disciples of Christ, and have kept themselves virgins (*ἄφθοροι*)."¹ But this brings us well within the lifetime of Simon, the Lord's cousin ; and it finds corroboration in the reference to the band of virgins in the *Shepherd* of Hermas ; and all glimpses we get of this state of life from the first mention in the New Testament indicate a movement as spontaneous as steady in its growth ; and no explanation can be found so simple as that offered of old, that Christian women found in the example of the Virgin that incentive to the consecration of their sex which apostolic men found in the pattern of her Son. Moreover we know that this tendency was strongly reinforced by the revival of religion in the heathen world, as is strikingly brought out by Mr. Dill in his *Roman Society*, where he shows how the whole of the religious and social instincts of our nature were in a most marvellous way being led to desire what only Christian Life and Worship could satisfy. And I do not believe that it was till the clash of such extremes as described by Epiphanius² in both the heathen and Christian spheres that, under the influence of himself and St. Jerome and like enthusiasts, the Virginity of Blessed Mary was brought forward as a constraining motive to draw women aside from their natural vocation to the married state, instead of leaving the few to find their happiness in the more excellent way of virginity.

Professor Mayor seems to be wholly unaware how the sentiment of home and the family stands out on every page which he has written on this subject, and he writes as if religious sentiment were an evil thing. On the contrary, I am among those who believe the one to be as deep and divine

¹ *Apologia* II.

² E.g. The Collyridians and Antidicomarianites.

as the other ; and so far from thinking that its presence weakens my case I have laid stress upon it. But I think that he is wrong in trying, despite Lightfoot's warning, to base its origin in this particular on the Apocryphal Gospels and to think that he has the authority of Origen for so doing.

It has been no pleasure to me to say hard things of one to whose age I owe reverence and to whose learning and industry I am indebted for help in the happiest of all study, the knowledge of the Divine Word. But I believe he is defending what is false, and that when he has found himself in a tight place he has been willing to extricate himself at the cost of fairness to myself and my cause.

Yet I am not sorry to have had to go over the ground once more. I said that the more this theory of Helvidius is studied the harder does it become of acceptance ; and the shifts to which my critic is driven illustrate this. An explanation which needs such help from so able a defender stands self-condemned : and with myself it is no more a question—as it once was—whether loyalty to truth requires me to adopt it, but how much longer it can hold its place among thoughtful scholars as a reasonable explanation of what Döllinger described as one of the most difficult problems of the New Testament.

“ X.”

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE FORERUNNER AND THE STORMING OF THE KINGDOM.

MATTHEW XI. 7-15.

THE famous verse regarding the storming of the kingdom (Matt. xi. 12) has long been a *crux interpretum*. Wernle (*Die Synoptische Frage*, p. 66) considers that Matthew has not preserved the passage in its genuine form. Harnack (*Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, p. 14) holds that the material which Matthew (faithfully representing the Logia-Source=

Q) presents in verses 12, 13, "was as difficult for Luke to understand as for us," and thus accounts for the secondary elements in the Lucan parallel, chap. vii. 29, 30. W. C. Allen (*Comm. on St. Matthew*, p. 113) thinks that "verses 12-15 are probably inserted here by him (i.e. Matthew) from another context." To us it appears that these controverted words are extraordinarily significant as they stand, because of the actual light they shed on John's work as Forerunner, and because of their indirect testimony to the Messianic claims of Jesus. But obviously they can only be interpreted in their intimate connexion with their context as well as with related passages, and the context itself is highly suggestive for the early progress of the kingdom of God.

The answer which Jesus had just given to the perplexed inquiry of His Forerunner, brooding in melancholy mood in the dungeon of Machaerus, was an appeal to the phenomena of His own activity. There was no direct assertion of Messiahship. He would only point to the tokens of the kingdom's presence, which could not be mistaken. The last of these tokens which He mentions has an immediate bearing on the statements which follow: "The poor have the good news preached to them." And He closes His message to the Baptist with a note of gentle chiding: "Blessed is he whosoever shall find no occasion of stumbling in me."

Then Jesus proceeds very delicately to guard against an impression of disappointment in John which might easily arise in the minds of His disciples and of the listening multitude. It seems as if this scene must have occurred very early in His ministry, for He can still take for granted the vividness of the impression which the Baptist has made upon his hearers. The preacher to whom they had flocked was no wavering, reed-like nature, although for the moment his

question might hint at vacillation (ver. 7). There was nothing soft or nerveless about him, although for the moment hardship and apparent failure were telling upon his spirits (ver. 8). Rightly had they discovered that in him they were listening to a prophet, nay, to one "far greater (περισσότερον) than a prophet." This was extraordinary praise when we remember the estimate of the great prophets current among their fellow-countrymen. But Jesus justifies it by applying to John the words spoken by Malachi of him who should prepare the way of the Lord. He implies that the prophets, in pointing forward to the coming kingdom and the coming King, included the Forerunner in their prospect. So He is able, without exaggeration, to affirm: "There hath not been raised up among those born of women a greater than John the Baptist" (ver. 11). There need be no quarrel as to the meaning of "greater." To have this momentous function of preparing the way for the Coming One invests the Baptist with a unique dignity. But he has the function because he is fitted for it. And so his pre-eminent greatness really consists in his qualifications for this incomparable office. At the same time, the preparation for the kingdom does not necessarily involve a complete understanding of the kingdom, a convinced sympathy with its methods and temper. The kingdom really means an advance upon the standpoint of the Forerunner. It is not enough to follow the Baptist. One mightier than he has come. Jesus takes up the most generous attitude towards His Forerunner. But it is needful, however indirectly and unassertively, to emphasize the new order which He has introduced. The actual presence of the kingdom may now be recognized, that kingdom which makes its appeal in Jesus Himself to all the spiritually sensitive. Hence, "he that is least" within its sphere is greater than John (ver. 11). We shall see how this self-consciousness of Jesus, which is the tacit

undertone of the whole passage, reaches its culmination in the closing verses.

At this point (ver. 12 ff.) the close parallelism between Matthew and Luke is interrupted. Matthew xi. 16-19, which is exactly parallel to Luke vii. 31-35, is connected with verses 4-11 preceding (which agree with verses 22-28 in Luke), by an entirely different link from that which Luke supplies. Allen, who seems inclined to believe that Luke may have seen Matthew, holds that "he may well have taken objection to verses 12-15 as obscure, and substituted for them a comment which prepared an anticipatory explanation of Mt. 19b" (op. cit. p. 114). This explanation would still hold good if, with Harnack (loc. cit.), we substituted for Matthew the Logia-Source. But it is scarcely necessary to go so far afield as to find in Luke's comment "an anticipatory explanation of Mt. 19b." The comment is really close enough to the sense of the Matthew-passage, which, in all likelihood, Luke found at this point in his Logia-Source, but, because of its difficulty perhaps, preferred to group together with some isolated sayings of Jesus in chap. xvi. We shall return to Luke xvi. 16. Meanwhile, let us examine Matthew xi. 12, along with the comment in Luke (vii. 29, 30).

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ ἕως ἄρτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται, καὶ βιασταὶ ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτήν. The verb *βιάζεται* has been the subject of keen discussion. Is it middle or passive? It occurs in both voices in classical literature, although the middle is more common. In the LXX there seems to be only one instance of the passive, while the middle appears again and again. In Luke xvi. 16 *βιάζεται* is middle, and must be rendered, "presses forward eagerly." Deissmann (*Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 86) cites a good instance of this meaning from a Greek inscription of the Imperial period. It really makes little difference which

view be adopted. If the verb is passive, we must translate : " But, from the days of John the Baptist until the present, the kingdom of heaven is stormed, and stormers (or, storming-parties) seize it." The alternative rendering (construing as middle) will be : " The kingdom of heaven presses forward with energy, etc." An instructive parallel may be found in Exodus xix. 24 (LXX). Obviously the sense is, in either case, the same. What Jesus emphasizes is the stir which this new movement of the kingdom is making, and the eagerness of certain people to enter it. Allen's translation, " The kingdom of the heavens is violently treated, that is, in the persons of its messengers and heralds " (op. cit. p. 116), as if the writer had before his mind the death of the Baptist and the subsequent persecutions of Christian missionaries, is surely out of the question, both from the standpoint of the passage itself, its position in the context, and its relation to its parallels.

Why is the idea of the stir and commotion which the kingdom is making, introduced at this point by Jesus ? Is not the $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, which ushers in the new statement, meant to modify the thought of John's inferior position, a thought which, nevertheless, Jesus intends to remain ? John, the Forerunner, had an altogether unique function. And yet those who have actually entered the kingdom have a clearer perception of things than he. Still, John is largely responsible for the origination of the movement and the rising tide upon which it has advanced. It was in his days that it began. Luke also emphasizes this fact in that word which is evidently the parallel of our verse, but which he has grouped among various isolated sayings of Jesus in a context to which it does not belong : " From that time (i.e., the time of John) the kingdom of God is preached,¹ and every

¹ Harnack notes (op. cit. p. 15) that $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ is " a pet word of Luke's." Obviously Luke's version of the saying is a paraphrase.

one (*πᾶς*, perhaps = "every kind of person") presses into it" (xvi. 16). The new movement is creating a ferment in society. Why? Because of its remarkable characteristics, notably because of the kind of adherents which it attracts. Here Luke's comment, which, as we saw, interrupted the parallelism, is most suggestive: "And all the common people who heard it and the publicans justified God, having been baptized with the baptism of John. But the Pharisees and lawyers rejected for themselves the counsel of God, not having been baptized by him" (vii. 29, 30). This is a striking glimpse of the actual situation. John's preaching has peculiarly impressed the despised classes of the land. In his account of the Baptist's ministry, Luke has a noteworthy report of interviews between the preacher and various groups of inquirers (iii. 10-14), whom he calls "the multitudes" (*οἱ ὄχλοι*), "publicans" (*τελῶναι*), and "men on military service" (*στρατευόμενοι*). The Pharisees and scribes, while joining the throng which flocked to the Jordan, held aloof from participation in the movement. Probably the drastic language used in Matthew xi. 12 (*βιάζεται, βιάσται, ἀρπάζουσιν*) is expressly chosen to emphasize the strenuous enthusiasm shown by those belonging to the lowest strata of the population, as contrasted with the coldness and aloofness of the "religious" parties in Judaism. And yet this was really the kingdom, taking definite shape: this was the realization of the highest Old Testament Hope. Surely there is nothing forced or unnatural in the connexion between verse 12 and verse 13. "For all the prophets and the law prophesied up to John." John is the culmination of the old order: a factor of transcending importance in the fulfilment of the Divine purpose; set in his place deliberately to indicate the near approach of the kingdom of God. Hence, men's attitude towards John is a searching test of their spiritual sensibility and discernment.

This aspect of the situation illuminates and is, in turn, illumined by the discussion and parable in Matthew xxi. 23-32. When the chief priests and elders of the people arrogantly question Jesus concerning His right or authority to act and teach as He was doing, Jesus replies : " I also will ask you one thing, and if ye answer me I too will tell you by what authority I do these things. Whence was the baptism of John ? Was it from heaven or of men ? " (Matt. xxi. 24, 25). The casual reader is apt to gain the impression that this was simply a desire to evade a difficulty. But it is never safe to attribute mere dialectical skill to any answer of Jesus. Even His apparently evasive replies are meant to provoke deep thought and questioning. The religious authorities, after consultation, refuse to commit themselves : " We do not know." And then Jesus answers : " I too refuse to tell you by what authority I do these things." This is not, as it might appear on the surface, a simple case of retaliation. John's ministry is a criterion of men's power of discerning the signs of the times. If these religious leaders have failed to understand, or refuse to acknowledge, John's true character, then they are blind to the tokens of the kingdom of God, and it is useless for Jesus, in the face of such blindness, to make any further explanations as to His own position and claims.

The parable of the Two Sons which follows, expands Jesus' view of the relation of the Pharisees to John and to the kingdom, and sheds valuable light on the passage which is the main subject of our discussion. I agree with Westcott and Hort, Weiss, Bruce, and others, in transposing the order of the answers in the parable (following B, a very important group of minuscules, and several versions). The first son, in reply to his father's request that he should go and work in the vineyard, answers, " I go, sir, and went not." The second, of whom he makes the same request, replies, " I

will not : but afterwards, having repented, went." Jesus asks, " Which of the two did the will of his father ? " They reply (so B, D, various versions and fathers), " The last." Whereupon Jesus declares : " Verily I say unto you, the publicans and harlots go before you into the kingdom of God. For John came to you in the way of righteousness, and ye believed him not. But the publicans and harlots believed him : and when ye saw it, ye did not afterwards repent so as to believe him." The reverse of what might have been expected had happened. " The prophets and the law prophesied up to John " (Matt. xi. 13). The Pharisees and scribes professed zealous obedience to the teaching of law and prophets. They are represented in the parable by the first son, who says, " I go, sir." John came in the way of righteousness, true to their own Old Testament tradition, yet, when he proclaimed the coming of the kingdom, they did not believe him. " They went not." The publicans and harlots had a poor record of legal obedience. Their moral standard was lax. The reply which their lives gave to the Divine appeal was, " I will not." But, at the preaching of John, even they repented, and believed his great message. They pressed into the kingdom with eagerness and enthusiasm. Yet not even with this remarkable transformation before their eyes, did the Pharisees change their attitude. Hence, these outcasts step before them into the Divine heritage of the kingdom.

By this time it is plain that the full significance of our passage has been brought out into bolder relief by this section of Matthew xxi., and in its light, verses 16-19, which we have left outside the scope of the discussion, are seen in their vivid suggestiveness, as they picture the Pharisees as a group of peevish, sulky children, refusing to play at weddings or at funerals. The austere and the joyous view of life is alike distasteful to them. They are impervious to the

sterner and also to the gentler appeal of the kingdom of God.

The closing verses of the passage (14, 15) do little more than emphasize the tremendous importance of John's preparatory function, explained in terms of Jewish belief. But the emphasis is not otiose. It is unnecessary to discuss the Jewish expectation of Elijah's return as the precursor of the Messianic age. The words of Malachi iv. 5, 6, are familiar: "Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord come. And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the land with a curse." The same tradition appears in Sirach xlviii. 10: (Elijah) "who was recorded for reproofs in their seasons, to pacify anger, before it brake forth into wrath; to turn the heart of the father unto the son, and to restore the tribes of Jacob" (cf. Luke i. 17). Volz (*Jüdische Eschatologie*, pp. 192, 193) shows that there was a difference of opinion among the learned as to the precise aim of Elijah's mission, but his coming was universally regarded in Rabbinic theology as coincident with the beginning of the era of salvation. The form of expression used by Jesus gives a solemn emphasis to the identification of John's function with that regularly assigned to Elijah. "If ye choose to receive the saying, he is Elijah who was destined to come." And then he adds the familiar phrase, which is perhaps almost equivalent to our N.B., "He that hath ears, let him hear."

Jesus has now fully vindicated John's unique office in the inauguration of the Messianic kingdom. But the kingdom is more important than its herald. The most remarkable feature of John's work is that it points beyond himself. Yet the outlook is in no sense vague. John has given impetus to a movement which circles round Jesus. He is

known already as "the friend of publicans and sinners." But this is not a slur upon the movement. Rather is it the justification of the Divine Wisdom, in which "these things," the truth of the kingdom, have been hidden from "the wise and understanding," and revealed unto "babes." John's stern preaching of repentance has turned the hearts of publicans and harlots towards Jesus, so that they recognize and respond to the new, saving, Divine order. The Pharisees have virtually ignored John, and utterly failed to discern the meaning of the movement which he inaugurated, regarding its very tokens as a reason for viewing it with scorn and reprobation.

Surely it is a fitting climax to those utterances which assign to John his true position and declare the presence and efficacy of the kingdom in spite of bitter censure and contempt, that Jesus should go on to assert His complete oneness with His Father's purpose, His unique fellowship with the living God, and in virtue of His solitary authority, proclaim that in Himself alone the weary and the burdened shall find rest unto their souls. H. A. A. KENNEDY.

ANALECTA.

II. A LAODICEAN BISHOP.

IN the remarkable epitaph of the Lycaonian fourth-century bishop Engenius, Roman soldier and dignitary of the Christian Church, the phrase, "the life of men," τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον, in lines 17-18, attracts more careful attention. Mr. Calder takes it as "the life of this world," in distinction from the future life; and at first I entertained the same opinion; but hardly had the final proofs of our articles on the subject reached the printer's hands, when I felt that this was not the point which touched the mind of Eugenius. He was not thinking merely of

his approaching death. His intention was to renounce the life of the world and the intercourse of society, and devote himself to the Divine life—that is to say, he had resolved to become a hermit. This idea was in the air at the time. Only a few years later Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus conceived the same intention and carried it into effect for a time. That οἱ ἄνθρωποι can be used in the sense of the “world,” i.e., “mankind,” without any idea of contrast with the future world, needs no proof: it is an elementary point: *homines* in Latin is often used in the same way. The use belongs to all periods of the Greek language, and is natural to human thought.¹

The verb ἀρνεῖσθαι (which Mr. Calder suggested to me) agrees with the context and the sense required: ἀρνούμενος τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον would suit the conditions and the size of the lacuna on the sarcophagus,² and can very well be rendered “renouncing the life of society.” A better suggestion may, however, occur to some other mind. For the present, I have printed this restoration in a description of the “Lycaonian Church in the Fourth Century,” which is contained in a work ready for publication at the time when I am writing, *Luke the Physician and Other Studies in the History of Religion*, pp. 331–410. As it was not consistent with the plan of the book to discuss this question in detail, I take the present opportunity of defending and explaining my view.

While this view seems for its own sake much superior to the other, it has the further recommendation that a satisfactory restoration of the missing participle is difficult to find on the other interpretation, whereas it lies close at hand on this view.

¹ A quaint example may be quoted from Plato, *Lysis*, 211 E, τὸν ἀριστον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὄρνυγα ἢ ἀλεκτρυόνα, “the best quail or cock in the world.”

² It is of almost the same length as the word which he prints, only one letter longer; and it is impossible to specify exactly the number of letters in any space, as the size and distance of the letters vary widely.

The middle voice of *λείπω*, which Mr. Calder adopts, cannot be defended (as he fully recognizes) except on the supposition that it is a piece of bad Phrygian or Lycaonian Greek. He quotes an article of mine from a German Magazine,¹ in which it was shown that in Phrygian epitaphs the middle voice was not unfrequently used instead of the active; and *λίποιτο χηρὸν βίον* was actually one of the examples which I mentioned. But, in the first place, those documents stand on a far lower plane in respect of familiarity with and power of using the Greek language than the epitaph of Eugenius—even although (as Mr. Calder shows beyond dispute or question) its Greek is not that of a person who could handle the language quite freely and correctly. In the second place, while my other examples are right, the examples of *λείπεσθαι* used instead of the active voice must be cut out. My examples all occur in the same formula, a curse invoked on the violator of a grave, *ὀρφανὰ τέκνα λίποιτο, χηρὸν βίον, οἶκον ἔρημον*. Here the verb has the sense of “leave behind him”; and the middle is appropriate in that sense, “may he leave behind him orphan children, a widowed life, a desolate house.” Formerly I thought that the *βίος* which he was to leave was his own life; but the clearly preferable interpretation is that the life of his widow is meant, and the curse is that he die an untimely death, leaving children, widow and desolation behind him. The distinction between the middle and the active of the Greek verb *λείπω* may be illustrated by the story of the dialogue between two American millionaires about a third who had just died. “How much did he leave?” (middle voice), asked one. “My friend, he left everything” (active voice), was the reply.

The invariable expression in Anatolian epigraphy, even

¹ *Philologus*, 1888, p. 754 f.

of the humblest class expressed in the worst Greek, is *λείπειν βίον*, not *λείπεσθαι*; and the example quoted by Mr. Calder from one of the poorest class of epitaphs, *λίψας βίον*, shows the usual practice of north Lycaonia, a district where education was in a very backward condition. The restoration *λειψόμενος*, therefore, must be rejected.

Nor have I been able to find any other more suitable middle participle to take the place of *λειψόμενος* and give a similar sense. The middle voice would be quite right in the case of *ἀπαλλαξόμενος*, but it would require the genitive after it, whereas the accusative is the case used here; and, moreover, the word is too long for the gap. *Τελούμενος* might be justifiable as a middle future,¹ and it is of the right length; but it is out of keeping with the language of Anatolian epitaphs.

But the best defence and the one complete proof of the restoration *ἀρνούμενος* (or some equivalent word)² is that it gives the meaning which is suitable and required in this document.

Besides the many other points of interest in Mr. Calder's discovery, this may be added as not the least, that Eugenius is the earliest Christian leader in Asia Minor about whom we can say that he left the world and became a recluse.

But the question may be asked whether Eugenius's preparation of his grave was an act suitable to this intention. It has several times been pointed out that in Anatolia the making of one's grave in one's lifetime was a pagan custom, and was regarded by pagans as a duty and an act of religion. But Eugenius was not consciously performing an act of pagan religious observance. He was

¹ *τελέσασθαι* is used in a way that has some analogy.

² I have a strong feeling that *ἀρνούμενος* is the most suitable and probable word, simple and not above the standard of Greek as it was known in the Lycaonian and Pisidian country.

merely doing what it lay in his nature and heart to do. The old Anatolian nature and custom was very human. That a hermit should live in the unceasing contemplation of his own death, and should remind himself of it by having his coffin ready—even in some cases keeping the coffin always close beside him and within his view—is quite in accordance with human nature and especially with the character of the hermit.

It will be long before the import of the bishop's epitaph is fully comprehended and the many questions connected with it are solved. I may therefore be permitted to refer to three other points that arise in it.

1. As to the identification of Kouessos and Kousea, I was at first attracted by this suggestion of Mr. Calder's; and the difference of form is probably not insuperable, considering the variations to which non-Greek names were exposed in the process of adapting them to the Greek. But an insuperable difficulty is that Eugenius was born and remained through life a citizen of Laodiceia, whereas Kousea was a village on an imperial estate. The whole point of my treatment of the Tekmoreian inscriptions (in which Kousea is mentioned)¹ lies in the contrast between the Hellenized cities and the population of the imperial estates, dwelling in villages and possessing none of the rights and powers of citizenship in a free, self-governing Hellenic city-state like Laodiceia. The contrast between these two kinds of life and surroundings was strong and deep. It is pointed out in the paper just quoted that a certain number of persons passed from the cities to the villages on the imperial estates: ² "they were going back to the land . . . and reverting to Orientalism . . . abandoning

¹ *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, pp. 305-77.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 357 f.

their cities and settling in Anatolian villages, where the old Anatolian social system prevailed, and where such Hellenic ideas as citizenship and municipal duties and powers had never taken root."

The opposite process, viz., that the native of a village on an imperial estate should settle in a free city, was illegal and impossible, or at least in the last degree improbable. It was contrary to the whole tendency of the time, and cannot be admitted without definite proof. Every consideration points in the opposite direction. Hellenism and city self-government were growing weaker and dying out. The Eastern spirit was reviving.

It is true that in those inscriptions one or two examples occur of persons acting as Tekmoreioi who were senators of Antiochia and Apollonia, the two chief Graeco-Roman cities of the neighbourhood; but the cases are exceptional, and we cannot tell in what way it came about that these persons were initiated in the country rites. Perhaps they were there in an official capacity; perhaps they were in the first stage of slipping away from the Hellenic plane of life. We cannot with our scanty information give a biography of each individual mentioned in those long lists. But we can at least say that these senators had not yet settled in any village. They were still citizens; and the burdens of the senatorial order in the cities were so heavy that senators were not likely to be easily permitted to abandon their honourable and onerous position, even if they had desired to do so. The father of Eugenius and Eugenius himself were born in the senatorial order of Laodiceia.

Kousea, however, was one of the villages; and Socrates, a citizen of Synnada, had settled there and become a villager of Kousea,¹ so that its rank is assured.

¹ I am assuming that the restoration on p. 359 is certain, for it seems to impose itself as inevitable.

Otherwise, what Mr. Calder says about Kouessos seems perfectly right. It was doubtless one of the places in the territory of Laodiceia, an estate belonging to the family of Eugenius (as Karbala belonged to the family of Gregory Nazianzenos,¹ and many others were in a similar position), with the family residence (*tetrapyrgion*) and beside it a village of cultivators.² This class of residences was spread widely over central Asia Minor, and they probably existed in the villages of the imperial estates as well as on the land of free cities like Apameia.

2. When the reading *κεντήσεων* was established by Mr. Calder instead of *βεντήσεων* in the Vatican copy, I at first thought that it must mean "embroideries." It may be regarded as beyond doubt that embroidered hangings or curtains were used in churches. But, after some time, Mr. Calder suggested that the word should be connected with *κεντητήριοι*, an instrument for piercing wood, and meant carved woodwork; and from the moment that he showed the possibility of this interpretation, it impressed me with a strong conviction that it is necessary and unavoidable. The Tyrian analogy, as he points out, is a strong argument. But far stronger are the facts of church architecture in Anatolia, in their relation to contemporary art and life—facts which were in great part unknown at the time, but which have become clear since his interpretation has placed us at the right point of view and directed our attention to the surrounding facts.

The architectural scheme of decoration on graves in the Isaurian country, and especially in the town of Nova Isaura, has been illustrated and described by Miss Ramsay

¹ *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 285.

² *Studies in the History of the Eastern Provinces*, p. 373; *Pauline and other Studies*, p. 376; *Luke the Physician and other Studies in the History of Religion*, p. 187.

in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 1-60. This scheme takes the form generally of a triple, more rarely of a double or a single entrance way. When it is triple, the central doorway is generally arched and the sides surmounted by pointed pediments; but occasionally the central part is pointed and the sides rounded; and sometimes all three are rounded, or all pointed. Ornaments (usually symbolic and Christian in character) are added; but the essential feature is the entrance (whether triple or double or single). This must be taken as the doorway of the grave;¹ and, as in older Anatolian religion the grave was a temple, and where the temple was not completely built, the gravestone was regularly and usually carved to represent the door,² so the Christians conceived the grave as a church and represented the tombstone as the door. The triple doorway of the church at Tyre in the fourth century is described by Eusebius x. 4; and its central gateway was the largest. In several of the best Isaurian examples that is the case,³ though the central space is never made higher than the others, because the artistic rule was to make the relief equal in height throughout its whole breadth.

In Lycaonia the Christian gravestones of this period often

¹ In a new work, *Luke the Physician, etc.*, p. 380, I have expressed this view in a hesitating and tentative way. In fact I did so only through a correction of the text introduced into the page at the last moment. But, when once the idea had occurred to me, it roused so many analogies in its support and fitted so perfectly into the history of Anatolian religion, that I expressed it positively and definitely in the Preface, Contents, and Index of the same book.

² In some cases the gravestone was the altar, not the door; but these are the two customary types, and the door is the most frequent. On the altar the word "Door" (*θύρα*) was sometimes engraved (see *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, II.). Rarer, but still not uncommon, is the complete temple type; and the sarcophagus was often carved to the form of a miniature temple.

³ For example, *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces*, pp. 22, 37; *Luke the Physician, etc.*, pp. 371, 383.

have a little door carved under the epitaph. In Isauria some of the examples are evidently doors, especially the single and double and triple arches. The single ones are merely slight modifications of the pagan door-type. The triple are most ornate, and often developed on sculptural lines, losing some of the architectural character, and especially changing the arch to a pointed pediment (which I have seen very rarely above a door in a building); but such development is natural and inevitable. Its progress is traced from sculpture to embroidery (where the pointed form is necessary) in Miss Ramsay's article above quoted, and examples of almost every known type may be found there. The whole subject needs fuller treatment than is here possible. The fondness of the Christians for a triple doorway to a church was the determining motive for the most characteristic Isaurian type, which is triple.

Now on two of these church-gravestones there is represented a reticulated object.¹ This I now understand to be a screen of reticulated woodwork. In one of the two cases this is quite evident; the other is not so obvious because the reticulation is more complicated. The variation in the way of representing the screen shows that already varieties in the way of working the wood occurred and that the custom was familiar and common. Eusebius describes the screens in the church at Tyre as reticulated.²

It is quite evident that, unless our whole view is wrong, some object which was specially characteristic of the church was represented in these cases. This object was the screen that concealed the holiest part of the church from the gaze of the crowd, as described by Eusebius at Tyre.

The screens, then, were important enough to call for special mention by Eugenius, and (as Mr. Calder rightly says) the embroideries could not have been sufficiently important.

¹ *Studies in the History, etc.*, pp. 35, 37; *Luke the Physician, etc.*, pp. 379, 383.

² δίκτυωτός, made like a fishing-net (δίκτυον).

In the later churches at Bin-Bir-Kilisse stone screens are often found, not so high as these wooden screens must have been, but perhaps only half of the total height. Wood was scarce in that region, and stone was substituted; but the importance of the need demanded some kind of screens in the churches.

We observe in Asia Minor the persistence through Christian times of the pre-Christian beliefs and customs regarding the grave. The sanctity attaching to the graves of martyrs was so great as to produce among the pagans of the third century the belief that the Christians worshipped their martyrs as gods;¹ and it is not easy, at least in later times, to distinguish the respect paid to saints and martyrs from the pagan worship of gods. In the same century we have found clear signs of the belief that the tomb should have some decoration to suggest that it is the doorway leading into a holy place, viz., a church. The custom of building churches on the graves of martyrs, which is quite as old, produced or grew out of the further belief that the highest respect to the dead man was shown by building a church over his grave or close to it; just as the old pagans built the temple of the deified dead. In excavating a church at Emir Ghazi,² I found a grave under the apse; and I was told by a Greek inhabitant of Konia that it is still customary among the Greeks in that region to bury a bishop in the apse of a church.

This readily leads to the state of things which we found in the excavating of Barata, that the churches in later Byzantine times were to a large extent regarded as sepul-

¹ See Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, viii. 6, 8 (Calder), where this belief is in full force at the beginning of Diocletian's persecution in 303.

² It preserves, in Mohammedanized form, the name of the Byzantine Kases or Kasis and the Khasbia of Ptolemy. Professor Sayce points out that the hieroglyphic inscriptions found here speak of the king of the people Kasimiyu.

chral, and the building of a grave-church was commonly vowed as a religious duty. In this stage we are separated by a very thin line of demarcation from the old pagan belief that a grave was indispensable as the consecration of a holy place; and we find that ancient belief persisting in Mohammedanized forms to the present day, though it is as thoroughly opposed to the spirit of Mohammedanism as it is to that of Christianity.

3. I hesitate to accept Mr. Calder's view (stated on p. 408 note) that *ὑδρεῖον* means a fountain. The word elsewhere means only a water-tank, not a fountain. His reason for believing that the word was used by Eugenius to denote a fountain is that there is and always doubtless was abundance of running water at Laodiceia, and that fountains are mentioned at the church of Tyre. The water is now and has always been brought in artificial channels from the hills which rise close and high above the town of Laodiceia. But a *ὑδρεῖον* is not merely a cistern to store rain-water or other stagnant supplies. It corresponds to the Latin *lacus*, and denotes a large basin or tank which was kept constantly full by inflow at one side and fresh by outflow at the other. Agrippa made 700 *lacus* of this kind in the city of Rome, where the water-supply was extraordinarily abundant. These *lacus* were kept full and fresh by the aqueducts.

It is possible that the difference between the fountains beside the church at Tyre and the tanks beside the church at Laodicea may be due to the prevalence of more purely Oriental customs in the former place, and the greater strength of Roman customs in the latter. But on this point I feel no great confidence, and state it merely in the hope of eliciting criticism or corroboration.

In most of the cities of Lycaonia running water was very scanty, and, according to Strabo, there was none at

all in Savatra, where water was procured from very deep wells and actually sold. Savatra lies close under the hills of the Boz-Dagh, which are much lower than those above Laodiceia, and supply little water: I do not remember ever to have seen a fountain in any of the passes which I have crossed. Yet Strabo's description is inaccurate in one respect. The wells at Savatra are not deep; and the Crimean refugees who have recently settled there say that there is abundant water at no great depth, wherever they sink a well. Yet Strabo, clearly, had been at Savatra,¹ and was struck with the novel spectacle of water sold in the streets. The Graeco-Roman cities were, as a rule abundantly supplied with this necessary of life, which in most places ran free and health-giving through the streets. I can only suppose that the Pontic traveller confused the memory of his journey across Asia Minor, and attributes to Savatra a fact which is true of some places along his road through Lycaonia, that the wells are extremely deep.

W. M. RAMSAY.

III. THE TIME OF THE TRANSFIGURATION.

When I reviewed in the *EXPOSITOR*, January 1908, the noteworthy book by Colonel Mackinlay on the Morning Star, I mentioned his very ingenious suggestion that the Transfiguration occurred at the Feast of Tabernacles in A.D. 28, a synchronism which suggested to Peter's mind the idea of making the three tabernacles. The ordinary view as to Peter's reason for making this curious proposal seems to be that which is stated by Dr. Plummer in his Commentary on Luke ix., "if they were to remain there they must have shelter." Why superhuman personages like Moses and Elias should require the shelter of booths in order to remain on a

¹ Soatra is the form which he uses, p. 568: Savatra occurs in the inscriptions and on the coins of the city.

mountain does not appear very clear. But, if the Jews were everywhere making booths at that very moment in order to spend in them the sacred week, it seems a very natural proposal of Peter's to construct three booths for the three superhuman personages to keep the Jewish feast: "one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias": and thus prolong the incident: "it is good for us to be here."

Colonel Mackinlay's suggestion agrees with the very slight indications of time that can be gathered from the context.

The Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1 ff.; Mark ix. 2 ff.; Luke ix. 28 ff.) occurred later than the Passover of A.D. 28 (about which time, as is generally agreed,¹ must have happened the incident mentioned by Matthew xiv. 14 ff., and John vi. 4 ff.); but the visit to the borders of Judæa beyond Jordan (Matt. xix. 1; John x. 40), the opening of the final period of the Saviour's life, about the end of 28 and the beginning of 29, had not yet occurred. This approximate date for the Transfiguration is, of course, evident and universally accepted; but its connexion with the Feast of Tabernacles is not a matter of general agreement, and no recent scholar adopts it, so far as I know.

Now Jesus spent part of this Feast at Jerusalem (John vii. 14). It is mentioned that He would not go up at the beginning of the Feast, but remained some days in Galilee, and appeared in Jerusalem, "when it was now the middle of the Feast," the third or the fourth day. On the Author's theory we have thus a quite remarkable chronological agreement between John and the Synoptics; and the agreement is so striking that it could hardly be purely accidental. On that theory the Transfiguration occurred at the time when the Tabernacles were being constructed, i.e., either on the day at whose sunset the Feast began or on the first day of the Feast. In that event Jesus was manifested as the Son of God, not

¹ EXPOSITOR, Jan. 1908, p. 10.

publicly, but to three disciples on a solitary mountain-top ; and the three were ordered to keep the event secret until after the Resurrection (as Mark and Matthew state). John vii. 4 mentions that, when this " Feast of Tabernacles was at hand," the brothers of Jesus urged him to go up to Jerusalem, to abandon His privacy and secrecy, and " manifest Thyself to the world." But Jesus refused to go up, on the ground that, " My time is not yet come." When the rest went up to Jerusalem to the Feast, " He abode still in Galilee." But afterwards He went up, " not publicly, but as it were in secret " ; and suddenly, " in the midst of the Feast," He appeared in the Temple. There He preached the remarkable discourse, beginning : " I am the light of the world."

All that John mentions in this passage fits in so perfectly in tone and in chronology with the Synoptic record as to make it evident to anyone possessed of the literary and the historic sense that the two narratives, which complete one another so remarkably, although neither of them mentions any detail or any saying that occurs in the other, must be founded on personal knowledge or first-hand evidence about actual facts. The only other theory that would account for such a singular coincidence amid difference is that there has been deliberate and wonderfully skilful invention of a series of incidents, and partition of them between two separate narratives dovetailing perfectly into one another. Such a theory, whether in the form that the two narratives were concocted by agreement at the same time, or that one was invented subsequently to suit the other which was already in existence, is not likely to be advanced at the present day by any scholar, for there are too many obvious difficulties (which it is needless to state here). This agreement of the two authorities¹ is so important a point as to deserve fuller notice.

¹ Mark is the authority on whom Luke and Matthew both rely.

Take, first of all, the sequence of events.

1. Jesus went forth into the villages of Caesarea Philippi. He asked His disciples, "Who do men say that I am?" They answered that He was taken by some for John the Baptist, by others for Elias or one of the prophets. He then asked, "Who say ye that I am?" Peter answered, "Thou art the Christ." Thereupon He bade them tell no man of Him (Mark viii. 27-30).

2. Jesus now began to tell them of His approaching sufferings and death and resurrection. This He stated openly. Peter rebuked Him for speaking thus, and was sharply reprimanded (Mark viii. 31-ix. 1).

3. Now the Feast of Tabernacles was at hand. His brothers advised Him to go to celebrate it in Jerusalem, and reveal Himself publicly to the Jewish world for what He claimed to be; but He refused, because His time was not yet fulfilled; and He abode in Galilee (John vii. 1-9). This takes as well known the narrative about His claim given by the Synoptics, see 1 and 2.

4. Six days later He took Peter and James and John into a high mountain apart. Here occurred the Transfiguration; and the thought of the Feast suggested to Peter that the three heavenly ones should celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles, and the three earthly ones should enjoy the spectacle. Afterwards, as they descended from the mountain, Jesus again charged them to tell no man until the Son of man be risen from the dead. They questioned one another what was the meaning of this rising from the dead. And Jesus explained (Mark ix. 2-13).

5. Jesus then went up secretly to Jerusalem and appeared in the Temple in the middle of the Feast, and taught, so that the people wondered. He asked why they sought to kill Him. He explained that He would be with them only a short time, and would then go "unto Him that sent Me."

He publicly offered instruction, and drink to any that thirsted. And some said that this was the prophet, others the Christ. But the conclusion was that, since He was of Galilee, He therefore could not be the Christ ¹; and no man laid hands on Him. He declared Himself in the Temple to be the light of the world, to be not of this world, but sent by His Father. And He went out of the Temple (John vii. 10–viii. 59).

6. They rejoined the disciples,² and He travelled in Galilee, keeping Himself secret; and He taught the disciples about the resurrection; but they understood not the saying and were afraid to ask Him (Mark ix. 14–32).

Secondly, it is plain that the two accounts are agreed about the importance of this moment in autumn A.D. 28. Jesus was now beginning to make His fate known; in Galilee He spoke only to His disciples³ about the coming events; but though He told them repeatedly, they failed to understand the drift of His words. John alone adds that He made a secret journey to Jerusalem and gave similar teaching in a guarded symbolic fashion to the Jews in the Temple. Both accounts agree that His death was now often mentioned by Him, but that no one realized what He meant.

How is this remarkable agreement as to time and subject to be explained? I cannot see any opening for doubt (1) that it arises from the personal knowledge and memory of John; and (2) that John knew the Synoptic narrative (not necessarily all three accounts, of course). It is impossible that John should so exactly fill up what is omitted by the

¹ The irony of this conclusion escapes many scholars. Their reasoning was sound; and their conclusion was inevitable, if the starting-point was correct. They thought it was correct; but they were in error. Hence their reasoning was really a witness to the truth, Christ must be born in Bethlehem, and Jesus (unknown to them) was born there. Such is the meaning of the Fourth Gospel.

² Luke alone says "on the next day" after the Transfiguration.

³ Except once the expression "openly": see above, heading 2.

Synoptists, without repeating anything that they tell, unless he was deliberately completing, with full knowledge of the facts, a narrative which he regarded as incomplete, though true. The irony of John (which is conspicuous in the touch regarding the supposed birth of Jesus in Galilee and the inference drawn therefrom in ignorance of the real facts of His birth by His opponents) is seen to be much more thoroughgoing when the whole of His words in the Temple are taken as a veiled and symbolic statement to the multitude of the teaching which was given in Galilee to the disciples alone before and after the Transfiguration, and which was as little understood by them as it was by the multitude in the Temple. There is irony in this, but how much greater is the pathos than the irony! This is what the disciples afterwards discussed among themselves and mourned and marvelled over, in the days that followed the Resurrection.

An agreement of this kind between two documents, lying so much beneath the surface, yet so complete, would in the criticism of non-Christian works be regarded as a weighty proof of trustworthiness and authenticity, unless the supposition of elaborately concocted fraud was established; but frauds so elaborate and skilful are unknown in ancient literature.

W. M. RAMSAY.

LEXICAL NOTES FROM THE PAPYRI.¹

XI.

δέω (*bind*).—With Luke xiii. 16, where demoniac power “binds” the sufferer from curvature of the spine, cf. the use of the verb to describe the “binding” power of curses: *Syll.* 809¹⁴ (iv /iii B.C.) ἔδησα τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, etc. Dittenberger remarks that

¹ For abbreviations see the February and March *EXPOSITOR*, pp. 170, 262.

καταδεῖν (*ib.*²) is commoner in this cursing formula; he cites another *defixio* in almost the same phrases.

διαθήκη.—The agreement of papyri and inscriptions with regard to the use of δ . is very remarkable. The verb appears in a will of 285/4 B.C., EP 2², τάδε διέθετο, and scores of times after. For the noun PP III. 6 (iii/B.C.) will be about the earliest example; G 17⁷ and 21⁴ (ii/B.C.) also fall within the LXX period, as does OGIS 338⁷ (133 B.C.), of the instrument by which King Attalus of Pergamon devised his country to Rome. Any number of citations may be made, and there is never a suggestion of any other meaning. The index to *Sylloge* will show that συνθήκη (which Aquila substitutes in 4 Regn. xxiii. 21 for LXX διαθήκη) is to the last the word for *compact*, just as διαθήκη is always and only the word for *will*. Any thought of some special “Hebraic” flavour about the use of δ . for *covenant* is excluded by the isolated but absolutely clear passage in Aristophanes (*Birds* 439), where *compact* is indisputable. We have no solution of the puzzle; but we may observe that it is very hard to imagine a Hellenist like the author(ess) of *Hebrews* using δ . for *covenant* without the slightest consciousness of its ordinary meaning. At the very least a play on the other sense might be expected; and according to the usual interpretation it comes. Suppose a preacher whose diction is by long use moulded on the Authorized Version to use the word *conversation* again and again in a sermon on Phil. i. 27. He knows that the word is obsolete, and he divides his sermon according to various departments of life:—how naturally would “conversation” in the modern sense supply one of them! Even so we may suppose the author of Heb. using the obsolete, Biblical word, and then dropping into the modern use of it for purposes of illustration. We capitulate to the ordinary view with reluctance, and in full knowledge of the *argumenta ad*

hominem which a follower of Westcott might hurl at us ; * but the unanimity of the papyri seems decisive against any argument which depends on the supposed necessity that δ. must always mean in this chapter what it means in the LXX, and cannot return for a moment to its natural every-day meaning. The coast is clear for discussion based simply on the examination of the argument.

διάνοια.—Witk. 16 (PP II. 13, 19¹²—c. 252 B.C.) τοῦτο δ' ἔχε τῇ δια[νοί]ᾳ, ὅτι κ.τ.λ., “keep this in mind, that you will never be allowed to have anything to distress you.” Syll. 300⁴³ (170 B.C.) γράμματα ἀποστείλαι ἔδοξεν, ὅπως περὶ τούτου τῇ διανοίᾳ προσέχηι : Viereck (*SG* p. 15) re-translates this *litteras dari censuerunt ut de ea re animadverteret*. Δ. is accordingly a fair equivalent to the Latin *animus*. We include the word's record mainly because of an interesting inscription showing a curious contact with the LXX. Syll. 891 mostly consists of curses on anyone who may disturb the grave on which they are inscribed. Opening hopefully with ἐπικατάρατος ἔστω, they go on with a quotation of Deut. xxviii. 22 πατάξαι τὸ ἀνεμοφθορίᾳ, followed by 28 παραπληξία τὸ διανοίας. The climax of the curse is reached with ἐπισκόπους ἔχοι Ἐρεινύας—these episcopal Furies make one think sympathetically of M. Loisy. The corresponding benediction on him who guards the tomb ends with ἐπισκοποίη Χάρις (*Anglicé* “His Grace” ?) καὶ Ὑγεία. So the inscription was ordered for a pagan, but composed by a proselyte to Judaism.

διαστέλλω.—Among a good many citations we may select Rein P 7²⁰ (? 141 B.C.) διασταλέντος, “it having been ordered in the contract” (συμβολαίῳ), followed by acc. and infin. : in N.T. we have the equivalent ἵνα construction.

* Cf. what one of us wrote nine years ago (G. Milligan, *Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp. 166 ff.); and W. F. Moulton's *Comm.* on Heb. ix. 16.

AP 40⁵ (ii/B.C.) shows how the best land in a glebe had been "separated" (διεσταλμένος) by a Greek for the use of some compatriots: this is the sense which appears in the noun διαστολή, as used in N.T.

διατίθεμαι.—As noted under διαθήκη, the regular formula in a will is τάδε διέθετο (νοῶν καὶ φρονῶν κ.τ.λ.). The vernacular use of the verb is much more in accord with LXX and N.T. usage than that of the noun. Thus *Syll.* 342^{36, 38} (c. 48 B.C.), of an envoy from a king to Pompey, "he not only *negotiated* terms (χρηματισμούς) on behalf of the king, winning the king the Romans' good will, but also negotiated the most honourable terms for his country." The selection of διαθήκη in the LXX for *covenant* may well have followed this still current use of the verb, perhaps with the feeling that the δια- compound was more suitable than the συν- for a covenant with God—συνθ. might suggest an agreement on equal terms.

δίδωμι.—Two citations may be given. Lest Acts xiii. 20 should be supposed a Hebraism, after (e.g.) Num. xiv. 4, we may quote PFi 2 (iii/A.D.) δίδομεν καὶ προσαγγέλλομεν τὸν ὑπογεγραμμένον εἰς δεσμοφυλακίαν. And for the elliptical use in Rev. ii. 23 might be compared a papyrus cited by van Herwerden in *Mélanges Nicole*, p. 246, λίθῳ δέδωκεν τῷ υἱῷ μου, sc. πληγὴν. (Cf. our "he gave it him with a stick.")

διέξοδος.—In MP 12^{11f} (iii/B.C.) we find it used for the *conclusion* of a trial: it is prayed that men who have wrongfully taken possession of land should not be allowed to get in the harvest ἕως τοῦ διέξοδον λαβεῖν τὴν κρίσιν. This rather supports Grimm's view of Matt. xxii. 9, "the *issues* of the streets," i.e. where they lead out from the city into the country.

δίκαιος.—The neuter is practically *duty* in PP II. p. 25²⁷, ἵνα δυνώμεθα τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ—the royal goose-

keeper makes petition. Of course the word is very common. *Δικαιοσύνη* may be examined in the index to *Syll.* and *OGIS*. The verb will be found in TbP 444 (i/A.D.) τὰ διὰ τῆς συνγραφῆς δετακιόμεμα (!, l. δεδικαιωμένα) κεφάλαια, "the sums *fixed* [declared just] by the contract." On *δικαίωμα* see *Notes* iii. Add *OGIS* 13¹⁴ (early iii/B.C.)—the people of Priene proved their immemorial possession of certain territory ἔκ τε τῶν ἱστοριῶν κ[αὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλ]λων μαρτυριῶν καὶ δικαιομάτων [με]τὰ τῶν ἐξετῶν [σπονδῶν]: *awards* would seem to be possible here, but *arguments* (as in *Notes* l.c.) suits *μαρτυριῶν* better. Canon Hicks's notes (*Historical Inscr.*¹ p. 260) will show the stages in this centuries-old dispute. PP II. p. 124⁵² and III. p. 55 (iii/B.C.) have an identic formula: a man is ordered to go up to Alexandria ἔχοντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν κατάστασιν δικαίωματα, "having with him the papers justifying his case," *pièces justificatives*, as the ed. renders in one case. There is also PP. III. p. 49⁴³ (iii/B.C.) δ καὶ παρέδοτο ἐν τοῖς δ., which follows ἅμα τε γραπτὸν λόγον [καὶ δικαίω]ματα θεμένης, with same meaning.

δίκη.—See *Thess.* p. 91. In partial illustration of Acts xxviii. 4 we may quote *Syll.* 810 εἰ δὲ τι ἐκὼν ἔξαμαρτ[ήσει], οὐκ ἐμὸν ἐπαράσ[ασθαι], *δίκη* δὲ ἐπικρέμαται τιμωρὸς ἀπελθόν[τι] ἀπειθῆς Νεμέσε[ως], "the inexorable justice of Nemesis."

διορύσσω.—The exact phrase of Matt. xxiv. 43 and Luke xii. 39 is found in PP III. p. 40 ὅτι διώρυξεν οἰκίαν.

δοκίμιος.—Since Deissmann drew this unsuspected adjective from the papyri to interpret Jas. i. 3 and 1 Pet. i. 7—a good example with which to meet those who assert that the papyri have not given us any *new* meanings for N.T. words—examples have been further accumulating. *Notes* iii. added one: later exx. are BU 1065²⁰ (97 A.D.) *τιμὴν χρυσίου δοκι[με]ίου*, 1045^{ii.12} the same (ii/A.D.). *Syll.* 588^{96.149} gives us from ii/B.C. *δοκιμῆιον*, a noun meaning

crucible, which is found in the LXX. Hort's divination (1 *Peter* p. 42) detected that the needed meaning in the N.T. passages was "what is genuine in your faith": the papyri have given a welcome endorsement to the master's instinct.

δοῦλος.—In Wilcken's *Ostraka* (i. 681 ff.) there is a valuable account of the occupations which in the Graeco-Roman world were monopolized by slave labour. Among those that were not, he gives the following classes which are represented in the N.T.:—ἀλιεύς, ἀμπελουργός, γεωργός, γραμματεὺς, διδάσκαλος, ἔμπορος, ἐργάτης, ἰατρός, ναύκληρος, ποιμήν, τέκτων, τραπεζίτης, χαλκεύς.

ἔγγυος.—NP 24⁸ (96 A.D.) ὁμολογοῦσι Πετεσοῦχis (description follows) καὶ Σαταβοῦς (do.) ἀλλήλων ἔγγυοι [εἰς ἔ]κτισιν. The verb may be seen in OP 259⁷ (23 A.D.) ὃν ἐνγεγύημαι, "the man whom I bailed out" (G. and H.); and an early example of the fem. noun in EP 27⁹ (iii/B.C.) πρὸς ἐγγύην, ἦν ἐνεγυησάμεθα εἰς ἔκτισιν. The citations could be multiplied.

ἐγκακέω.—BU 1043³ (iii/A.D.) contains the word, but in an uncertain context: it is, however, worth recording, in view of the poverty of the "profane" attestation of this verb.

ἐγκαταλείπω.—Witk. 62 (Par P 46⁸–153 B.C.) "how your brother ἐνκατελελοίπει με ἀποδημήσας when robbers set on me," is a good example of its prevailing N.T. sense—to *abandon* one who is in straits. With a place as object (cf. Heb. x. 25), *Syll.* 510^{89,98} (ii/B.C.) ὅσοι ἐγκαταλιπόντες τὰ κτήματα ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰσὶν: so 226¹³⁵ (iii/B.C.) of workmen "abandoning" their work. The noun ἐγκατάλειμμα in PP II. p. 14²—*silting up*, what is "left behind" by the river: this neutral sense is seen in the verb in Rom. ix. 29.

ἔθνος.—On the Greek associations of this term see Canon Hicks in *C.R.* i. 42. StrP 22 (iii/A.D.) has an interesting

usage: διατάξεις εἰς τῶν κυρίων περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οἰκούντων, "*in provinciis populi Romani*" (ed.). In *Syll.* 296 (ii/B.C.) the κοινόν of the Aetolians honour a king with a statue at Delphi for his benefaction towards their ἔθνος. Wilcken shows in *Ostr.* i. 66 that it can denote names in Egypt.

εἶδος.—To *Notes* ii. and *Thess.* p. 76 f. it may be added that παντὸς εἶδους is so common a phrase in papyri that we can hardly venture to take in 1 *Thess.* v. 22 a meaning wholly distinct from that which was so familiar. Thus *Witk.* 78 (TbP 58²⁰, 111 B.C.) ἀπὸ παντὸς εἶδους "from every class" (G. and H.). In TbP 289⁵ (23 A.D.) διαγεγραμμένων κατ' εἶδος = *classified*. BM III. 54¹¹ (170 A.D.) has χόρτου καὶ ἄλλων εἰδῶν abbreviated as a recurrent formula, which the edd. render "hay and other miscellaneous crops." Certainly *kind* or *class* is the normal meaning in popular speech.

εἰκόν.—As noted in *Proleg.*² 235, this is the term used (BU 1059⁷—i/B.C.) for the *descriptions* of individuals in official documents: ἥς τὰ ἔτη καὶ αἱ εἰκόνες ὑπόκεινται. In *Syll.* 888⁵ (ii/A.D.) τὰς τούτων τῶν ἀγαλμάτων εἰκόνας is explained by Dittenberger from the assumption that ἀγάλματα includes the sculptor's whole work, of which the actual *bust* is a part.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

GEORGE MILLIGAN.

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